

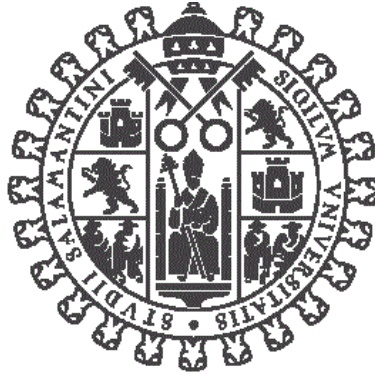
VNiVERSIDAD D SALAMANCA

Departamento de Psicología Social y Antropología

ESTRATEGIAS DE INTEGRACIÓN Y SEGREGACIÓN DE LA COMUNIDAD BÚLGARA EN CASTILLA Y LEÓN.

Alberto Alonso-Ponga García

TESIS DOCTORAL ABRIL 2016



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Tesis Doctoral presentada por Alberto Alonso-Ponga García

Profesora Dra. María Jesús Pena Castro, Universidad de Salamanca

TESIS DOCTORAL ABRIL 2016



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María Jesús Pena Castro, Profesora Contratada Doctora de Antropología Social de la Universidad de Salamanca, declara que:

La presente Tesis Doctoral que lleva por título *Estrategias de Integración y Segregación de la Comunidad Búlgara en Castilla y León*, se presenta bajo el formato de compendio de artículos y ha sido redactada en español e inglés y desarrolla el trabajo de investigación realizado bajo mi dirección durante los últimos cuatro años por D. Alberto Alonso-Ponga García

La tesis reúne a mi juicio méritos abundantes y suficientes de originalidad que convierten el trabajo en una valiosa aportación a los temas que el autor aborda. Considero además que la investigación ofrece pleno rigor y fundamentación, tanto empírica como teórica y metodológica.

En base a los méritos expuestos, considero que el autor de la Memoria de Tesis está en condiciones de optar con la misma al título de Doctor.

Por todo ello, doy el *visto bueno* y autorizo la presentación de dicha Tesis Doctoral y el inicio de los trámites necesarios para su defensa y lectura de acuerdo con la normativa en vigor.

En Salamanca, a 6 de abril de 2016

Fdo.: María Jesús Pena Castro
Profesora de Antropología Social (USAL)
Directora de la tesis

PRESENTACIÓN DE TESIS DOCTORAL POR COMPENDIO DE PUBLICACIONES

El presente trabajo de investigación es una Tesis Doctoral siguiendo el formato de Compendio de Publicaciones recogido en el Reglamento de la Universidad de Salamanca, en el Documento de la Comisión de Doctorado y Postgrado de la Universidad de Salamanca del 15 de Febrero de 2013.

Se ha optado por este tipo de tesis debido al desarrollo de la propia investigación. Entre los años de 2012 a 2016 se ha investigado la cuestión de las Estrategias de Integración de la Comunidad Búlgara en Castilla y León. Este trabajo ha incluido una estancia de investigación en el Instituto Etnográfico Nacional de la Academia Nacional de las Ciencias de Bulgaria (Sofía 2014), así como la participación en varios congresos.

Las publicaciones aquí presentados son el fruto de un proceso de producción intelectual llevado a cabo de manera discursiva. Esto ha permitido generar conocimiento a partir del contracte de hipótesis y de resultados campo con otros especialistas de la materia, incorporando sus aportaciones.

Las publicaciones que conforman la tesis son los siguientes:

1.- Migración, integración, participación: Estrategias de Desarrollo Local. Alonso-Ponga García, A., Pena Castro, M. J. VOCCI. Anuale di Scienze Umane. Anno XII/2015. P.161-173. ISSN 1827-5095. Rivista di Classe A dell'area 11-SC. 11/A5, in base alla classificazione delle riviste elaborata dall' ANVUR-Ministerio dell'Università.

2.- The Balkans Retold. Myths, heroes and history in Bulgarian consciousness. Alonso-Ponga García Alberto. Capítulo del libro: Trends in Slavic Studies, Quero Gervilla, E. F., Barros García, B., Kopylova, T. R., (red.), Editorial URSS, Moscú 2015. ISBN: 978-5-396-00701-7. Páginas: 451-461

3.- Identity in Construction. Identity Definition in the Integration Process of the Bulgarian Community in Castile and Leon (Spain). Alonso-Ponga García, A. Pena Castro M.J. Aceptado para su publicación el 13 de Noviembre de 2014. Suedosteuropa. Journal for Politics and Society, del Institut für Öst- und SüdEuropa Forschung, Universidad de Regensburg.

4.- Building community development: integration strategies of the Bulgarian Migrants in Castile and Leon (Spain). Alonso-Ponga García, A., Pena Castro, M.J. Aceptado para su publicación 15 de febrero de 2016. Etnoantropologia on line. Rivista de la Associazione Italiana per le Scienze Etno-Antropologiche.

Además, se incluye un anexo con otras tres publicaciones que complementan el sentido de las anteriores, mostrando la coherencia y consistencia de la investigación:

5.- Gender Role Negotiation in the Migration Process. Bulgarian Migrants in Castile and Leon (Spain). Alonso-Ponga García, A. Publicado en Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences 161(2014). Páginas 241-246.

6.-Upotreba na ezika v kiberpronspastovo. Mejzdu balgarsca i spanska ezik v migranskata obnosht. (El uso del lenguaje en el ciberespacio. Entre el Búlgaro y el Español en la comunidad migrante). Alonso-Ponga García, A. Capítulo del libro: Dobre Doshli v Kyberya: zapiski ot digitalya teren. (Bienvenidos al Ciberespacio. Escritos desde el Campo Digital), Editorial Insitut za Etnologia i Folcloristika c Etnografski Muzei- BAN (Instituto de Etnografía y Folklore con Museo Etnográfico. Academia de Ciencias de Bulgaria), Sofia 2014. Páginas: 84-100. ISBN 978-954-8458-49-8

7.- From Bulgarian to European: The Role of Interculturalism in the Identity Construction of Migrant Communities. Alonso-Ponga García, A., Pena Castro, M. J. Aceptado para su publicación en Noviembre de 2014. Anastasova, E. Ed. Balkan And Baltic States in United Europe (History, Religion and Culture) II, New Castle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.



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To Whom It May Concern:

Please consider this letter as confirmation of the following:

1. Alberto Alonso-Ponso Garcia, Doctoral student from Salamanca University is a member of International Society for Balkan and Baltic Studies.
2. Two articles of Alberto Alonso-Ponso Garcia have been accepted for two peer-reviewed issues:

Alonso-Ponso Garsia, Alberto (with Maria Jesus Pena Castro). From Bulgarian to European: The Role of Interculturalism in the Identity Construction of Migrant Communities. – In: Anastasova, E. (Ed.). *Balkan and Baltic States in United Europe (History, Religion, and Culture) II*. New Castle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, forthcoming.

Alonso-Ponso Garscia, Alberto (with Maria Jesus Pena Castro). Identity in Construction. Identity Definition in the Integration Process of the Bulgarian Community in Castile and Leon (Spain). - *Suedosteuropa. Journal for Politics and Society*, collected from E. Anastasova.



Associate professor Ekaterina Anastasova, PhD
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Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
President of International Society of Balkan and Baltic Studies

November 13, 2014
Sofia



Roma, 15 febbraio 2016

Prof. Alberto Alonso-Ponga Garcia

Prof. Maria Jesús Pena Castro

Universidad de Salamanca

In qualità di direttore pro-tempore della rivista "Etnoantropologia on-line", dichiaro che il paper *Building community development: integration strategies of the Bulgarian Migrants in Castile and Leon (Spain)*, presentato alla redazione da Alberto Alonso-Ponga Garcia e Maria Jesús Pena Castro (Universidad de Salamanca), è stato accettato per la pubblicazione.

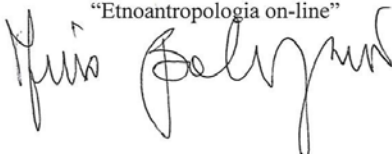
Detta pubblicazione avverrà per il prossimo numero della rivista "Etnoantropologia on-line".

Cordiali saluti

Prof. Mario Bolognari

Presidente AISEA

(Associazione Italiana per le Scienze Etno-Antropologiche)

"Etnoantropologia on-line"


Agradecimientos

Se cuenta que una vez, hace ya mucho tiempo, un grupo de criaturas sobre la faz de la Tierra fue capaz de alzarse sobre dos de sus cuatro extremidades, levantar la cabeza, y comprender que el mundo estaba lleno de belleza. Se asombraron de la inmensidad que les rodeaba y comenzaron a preguntarse por aquello que formaba lo que pronto entenderían como su realidad. Así, miraron al cielo y dieron nombre a las estrellas, miraron los valles y sus montañas y dieron nombre a las cumbres y a los ríos. Y desde muy pronto empezaron a contar historias.

Aparecieron los héroes, seres capaces de preguntarse por el mundo sin pudor, de lanzarse a lo desconocido. Seres conscientes de que, en realidad, el mundo sería siempre un misterio para el hombre por mucho que éste intentara entenderlo. Pero estas historias son antiguas, y las voces se confunden con el tiempo. Así se recuerda a Teseo, a tientas en mitad del laberinto de la vida, rescatado por el hilo de la dulce Ariadna. O a Sócrates, precipitando a los atenienses a la boca negra de la entrada del laberinto que, con una apariencia inocente, comenzaba con una pregunta. Después, esa pregunta llevaba a otra, y la respuesta era otra pregunta, y otra más, y más, que llevaban más lejos hasta atravesar el mismísimo Jardín de los Senderos que se bifurcan custodiado por el ciego Borges-Tiresias.

Desde entonces, la existencia humana es pregunta de forma inexorable, es una continuada búsqueda de respuestas. Teseo pasea por el laberinto y logra salir para enredarse en un nuevo viaje, una nueva deriva. No hay descanso ni mapa. Tan sólo Ariadna que sujeta entre sus manos el hilo que asegura el recorrido y acompaña.

Esta tesis es, en cierto modo, una continuación de ese viaje que emprendimos hace ya miles de años; de ese viaje que consiste en interrogarse a uno mismo por el mundo y el sujeto y el modo en el que se resuelve la ecuación. Pero no. Yo no soy Teseo. Sólo soy

un pobre incauto que al saber de Teseo se arrojó al laberinto de manera inconsciente. Además, para colmo de males, soy miope. Así que me convertí en un hombre a la deriva en mitad del laberinto, sin saber si eran puertas o espejos lo que se alzaban ante mí. Muchas veces, cuando creía ver mi silueta reflejada en alguna superficie, me acercaba pare descubrir que sólo era la sombra de Hume recordándome que nada se puede conocer con certeza.

Tuve suerte entonces de contar con un hilo firme y sólido que me tendió la Doctora Pena Castro y que me ayudó a comprender mejor mis pasos. Así, gracias a su paciencia, tesón y apoyo emocional, logré poner un pie primero, después el otro y, tras muchas vueltas, salí de este laberinto. Ella es más poderosa que Ariadna. No sólo teje el hilo, sino que descendió a las profundidades de la Caverna a rescatar al prisionero, le acompañó a ver el sol, y estuvo allí para secar sus lágrimas cuando creyó morir de sed en mitad del desierto. Es el Demiurgo que me concedió el don de la palabra y me hizo avanzar hasta aquí. A ella, siempre, mi más profundo respeto y admiración.

Fue también una suerte que, desde el principio, los búlgaros y las búlgaras que me fui encontrando en mi camino tuvieran ganas de sentarse junto a mí y compartir conmigo sus angustias, sus deseos, sus frustraciones... Durante todos estos años creamos una historia divertida, en la grácil danza que es la vida. Aquí, en las tierras de León y de Castilla, allí, en Bulgaria, mi otra tierra, siempre me sentí acogido. En este sentido, es justo mostrar un sincero agradecimiento a los miembros del Departamento de Psicología Social y Antropología de la Universidad de Salamanca, y a los del Departamento de Etnología Balkánica del Instituto Etnográfico Nacional de la Academia Nacional de las Ciencias de Bulgaria.

Es fundamental, por supuesto, haber contado desde el principio, y siempre, con todo el apoyo de mi familia. No sólo han dado viabilidad económica a este proyecto en las épocas de vacas flacas, sino que, sobre todo, han sido capaces de comprender las ausencias, respetar los silencios y de encontrar una palabra de ánimo en el momento adecuado. Gracias por todo el cuidado que me proporcionáis.

Las líneas del parentesco son, en ocasiones, aún más complejas que el trazado de las constelaciones en el cielo. Esto es lo que las hace hermosas. Así, la familia se extiende también a muchos seres que pueblan la Tierra y que, con su quehacer diario, la hacen habitable. En mitad de la angustia que provocaban las paredes del laberinto, muchas

veces tuve la suerte que algo hermoso aconteciera cerca, aliviando bastante el sabor gris del trayecto. La sensación de belleza es impensable sin ti, mi siempre querida Rubia, y tu eterna mirada de extrañeza que empuja al mundo hacia lo bello y lo sublime.

Habría sido si quiera imposible empezar a pensar de no haber sido porque una vez, hace ya mucho tiempo, tuve la suerte de coincidir contigo, mi siempre querido Jaime. Desde entonces, fui incapaz de vivir con reflexionar sobre lo vivido, fui incapaz de pensar sin confiar que, en algún momento, nuestros caminos volverían a cruzarse y tendríamos entonces tiempo de comentar lo que fue la vida toda alrededor de una taza de café. Esta tesis te debe más de lo que piensas porque creo que no hay ninguna palabra que yo haya escrito en los últimos 15 años que no desee secretamente ser leída por ti. Gracias por haber dado a mi mente una voz sensata que, en ocasiones, ha logrado hacerme caminar en la dirección adecuada.

Mi vida ha sido, en realidad, una existencia dichosa, y he tenido la suerte de cruzarme con seres maravillosos capaces de sacar lo mejor de mí, aguantar mis días más oscuros, y no dejarme abandonar. Muchas veces tuve la tentación de coger una maza y arrojarme contra las paredes del laberinto buscando una salida fácil. Pero conocía a una Lógica convertida en Metafísica, una Guitarra disfrazada de Abogada y un Librero atrapado en un cuerpo de Ingeniero. Gracias Leticia, Carmen y Rorri por la risa, la calma y los buenos consejos.

Muchas veces he sentido una verdadera admiración por vuestro aguante, mis queridos César y Fe, que habéis sabido estar ahí desde hace más de veinticinco años, escuchando las extravagancias más desafiantes que producía mi torpe cerebro. Muchas gracias por la risa y el apoyo incondicional.

El laberinto de la vida resulta siempre impredecible. Así, cuando parece que ya sólo queda desierto y arena por delante, aparece un oasis. Sucede que a veces, en mitad de ese vergel, un tigre es capaz de mostrarte el camino al paraíso. Supe desde el primer momento que, en realidad, era el Zorro que se había escapado de El Principito para llegar hasta mí y recordarme el significado de la palabra ternura. Muchas gracias Frosties por todo el cariño que llena de calidad el tiempo compartido.

El laberinto a veces se complica y se convierte en desierto. Comienza así una travesía dura que amenaza con no terminar nunca o, peor aún, precipitarse al vacío en un

barranco con pinchos afilados en el fondo. Ha sido una suerte en todo este tiempo no estar solo y tener una Uma Lulik de referencia. Gracias Ana, Gema, Laura y Vivian por enseñarme a estirar las piernas y acompañarme en todo este camino. Para nosotros sin duda alguna el viaje continúa.

Gracias también a Vesi y Magdalena por cuidar siempre de mí cada jueves y también todos los días. Gracias a ti Rubén, in memoriam, como dijo el poeta, también por los sueños que no tuve y que ya nunca sabré.

Y gracias también a la diestra mano del destino que me llevó a ejercer como profesor y me dio así la oportunidad de aprender cada día un poco de todos mis alumnos.

A la vuelta de los años, sigo siendo una pobre criatura que osa levantarse sobre sus cuartos traseros, intentando atisbar un punto de comprensión de un mundo inmenso y terriblemente hermoso. Gracias a todos y a todas por todo el tiempo compartido dentro y fuera de este laberinto.

En Alcuetas, León, a 4 de abril de 2016

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2. COMPENDIO DE PUBLICACIONES

- 2.1.- **Migración, integración, participación: Estrategias de Desarrollo Local.** Alonso-Ponga García, A., Pena Castro, M. J. VOCCI. Anuale di Scienze Umane. Anno XII/2015. P.161-173.

- 2.2.- **The Balkans Retold. Myths, heroes and history in Bulgarian consciousness.** Alonso-Ponga García Alberto. Capítulo del libro: Trends in Slavic Studies, Quero Gervilla, E. F., Barros García, B., Kopylova, T. R., (red.), Editorial URSS, Moscú 2015. ISBN: 978-5-396-00701-7. Páginas: 451-461

- 2.3.- **Identity in Construction. Identity Definition in the Integration Process of the Bulgarian Community in Castile and Leon (Spain).** Alonso-Ponga García, A. Pena Castro M.J. Aceptado para su publicación el 13 de Noviembre de 2014. Suedosteuropa. Journal for Politics and Society

- 2.4.- **Building community development: integration strategies of the Bulgarian Migrants in Castile and Leon (Spain).** Alonso-Ponga García, A., Pena Castro, M.J. Aceptado para su publicación 15 de febrero de 2016. Etnoantropologia on line. Rivista de la Associazione Italiana per le Scienze Etno-Antropologiche.

3. ANEXO I: PUBLICACIONES COMPLEMENTARIAS

3.1.- Gender Role Negotiation in the Migration Process. Bulgarian Migrants in Castile and Leon (Spain). Alonso-Ponga García, A. Publicado en Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences 161(2014). Páginas 241-246.

3.2.- Upotreba na ezika v kiberpronspastovo. Mejzdu balgarsca i spanska ezik v migranskata obnosht. (El uso del lenguaje en el ciberespacio. Entre el Búlgaro y el Español en la comunidad migrante). Alonso-Ponga García, A. Capítulo del libro: Dobre Doshli v Kyberya: zapiski ot digitalya teren. (Bienvenidos al Ciberespacio. Escritos desde el Campo Digital), Editorial Insitut za Etnologia i Folcloristika c Etnografski Muzei- Bulgarian Academy of Science

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4. ANEXO II: CONSIDERACIONES EPISTEMOLÓGICAS

1.-COHERENCIA DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN

1.1.- INTRODUCCIÓN

Este trabajo investiga la situación actual del grupo de inmigrantes búlgaros residentes en Castilla y León. Esta Comunidad Autónoma enclavada en la meseta norte presenta la particularidad de ser una de las regiones administrativas más extensas de Europa, con el inconveniente de que su población no alcanza los 2.500.000 habitantes. De este modo, la baja densidad de población se convierte en uno de sus principales problemas(Gómez-Limón, Atance, & Rico, 2007; Zarza, 2003). Desde comienzos del siglo XXI, en España se invirtió la tendencia y se pasó de ser un país de emigrantes a recibir un creciente volumen de inmigrantes hasta la llegada de la crisis económica en 2009 que se frenó esta tendencia(Brandon, 2012; Cebrián, 2004). Normalmente, los inmigrantes acudían a nuestro país en busca de una mejora económica que les permitiera unas condiciones de vida más dignas que en su país de origen. Es por eso que la tendencia fue que se agruparan en las ciudades y regiones más industrializadas o con mayor impacto del turismo ocupando puestos del sector servicios

Castilla y León no cuenta con focos industriales fuertes, sino más bien al contrario. Presenta una población dispersa, siendo el sector agrícola su tradicional fuente de ingresos. Sin embargo, fueron muchos los inmigrantes que encontraron su sitio en esta comunidad debido a que el mercado laboral requería mano de obra para el campo y para la atención de una población envejecida(Martí & Ródenas, 2004; Moreno Fuentes, 2007; Ródenas & Martí, 1995). Este tipo de trabajos se encuentran, de forma general, mal remunerados, de modo que la lógica del sistema capitalista favoreció la instalación de un contingente de mano de obra poco exigente en cuanto a sus condiciones salariales, dispuestos a asumir una serie de puestos de trabajo que habían quedado vacantes en la época de bonanza.

Las migraciones de búlgaros a España comenzaron a finales de los años 90 pero fue sobre todo a comienzos del siglo XXI cuando empezaron a llegar con más fuerza. Castilla y León se convirtió en la quinta autonomía en población búlgara acogida(Ibáñez Ángulo, 2007; Viruela Martínez, 2008). El colectivo búlgaro fue el más numeroso dentro de la comunidad durante varios años hasta disputarse ese puesto con los inmigrantes rumanos. Sin embargo, a pesar de que las cifras hacen que sea un colectivo significativo en términos demográficos, lograron desde el principio un alto grado de integración que llevó a su invisibilidad social y que les permitió participar en la vida cotidiana de la comunidad local.

A partir de esta situación, se ha desarrollado una investigación con el objetivo principal de averiguar a qué se debe este alto grado de integración de la comunidad búlgara en Castilla y León con el fin

de poder extraer conclusiones que permitan trazar líneas de intervención desde la Antropología Aplicada para mejorar los procesos de integración de otras comunidades de inmigrantes. De este modo, el análisis de un caso de estudio permite generar un conocimiento útil y relevante para la comunidad científica sobre una cuestión de plena actualidad.

A lo largo de este documento presentaré, en primer lugar, los antecedentes de mi investigación y el estado de la cuestión para mostrar el modo en el que este estudio encaja con la tradición académica a la que pertenece y cómo puede contribuir a ella. Más adelante detallaré las principales hipótesis de trabajo, los objetivos y las principales conclusiones extraídas de estos años de trabajo.

Se ha optado por la realización una Tesis por artículos por considerar que los textos aquí recogidos incorporan el proceso de investigación de forma discursiva. Todos los textos han sido ampliamente discutidos en foros académicos, de tal manera que el conocimiento se ha ido generando en un diálogo permanente entre el trabajo de campo, los materiales teóricos, y la discusión en congresos y revistas especializados. Cada artículo muestra una perspectiva diferente sobre el caso de estudio, de modo que entre todos ellos constituyen un todo coherente y consistente que permite mejorar la comprensión del fenómeno migratorio y del proceso de integración.

De esta manera, esta Tesis implica un proceso de reflexión sobre unos artículos ya publicados, lo que permite reevaluar el conocimiento generado y mejorar así mi contribución a la disciplina de la Antropología con la presentación de esta investigación.

1.2.- ESTADO DE LA CUESTIÓN

Las migraciones son un fenómeno global que se ha producido de forma continuada a lo largo de la historia de nuestra especie. En los últimos años, se ha transformado, además, en un reto al que los diferentes países deben hacer frente para garantizar su viabilidad social. En ese contexto, la cuestión de la integración cultural y el modelo de sociedad son cuestiones que aparecen con frecuencia en la arena política y que centran el interés de la población en general. Es por ello que, desde el ámbito académico, también han suscitado el interés de numerosos profesionales de las Ciencias Sociales que mediante sus investigaciones tratan de arrojar algo de luz que permita comprender la profunda complejidad de los flujos de personas y las diferentes consecuencias que conllevan en las diferentes sociedades.

En el caso que centra esta investigación, el de los inmigrantes búlgaros asentados en Castilla y León, resulta sorprendente el poco interés que ha despertado en la Academia. Castilla y León es la quinta Comunidad Autónoma en número de búlgaros en el territorio nacional, detrás de Madrid, Cataluña, País Vasco y Valencia. Sorprende esta posición si se tiene en cuenta que en esta comunidad las posibilidades laborales son escasas. Siendo el territorio autonómico más amplio de Europa, cuenta con una población que no alcanza los 2.500.000 habitantes según el censo de 2014. Además, esta población está considerablemente envejecida. Sorprende, por tanto, que una región así se convirtiera en destino de inmigrantes.

Desde el año 2009 y hasta el año 2012, los búlgaros eran el colectivo de inmigrantes más numeroso que había en la región, superando a rumanos y con una gran distancia respecto de los marroquíes. Sin embargo, la percepción social no era esta. A lo largo de esta investigación he comprobado repetidas veces que la población local se sorprende al ver que dedicaba mis esfuerzos investigadores a un colectivo desconocido para, casi acto seguido, reconocer que ellos también tenían algún amigo búlgaro. Y precisamente éste es el tema central de esta investigación. ¿Qué ha hecho posible que siendo un colectivo tan numeroso haya logrado una integración que ha llevado a la invisibilidad?

Existen muy pocos estudios dedicados a este colectivo en el ámbito regional. Al margen de los datos producidos por algunos economistas, parece que la cuestión ha pasado casi desapercibida. Con la ligera salvedad de Ibáñez Angulo, y de algún miembro de la academia de Bulgaria (Ibáñez Angulo, 2007; Markova, 2008; Stanek, 2009; Viruela Martínez, 2008; VV.AA., 2014), lo cierto es que la cuestión búlgara en Castilla y León no contaba con ningún lugar relevante en los textos académicos. La orientación excesivamente economicista y excesivamente estadística de la poca investigación existente hacía necesario un planteamiento cualitativo y profundo desde la Antropología.

En este sentido, los antecedentes de esta investigación se encuentran en las líneas generales de investigación de migraciones, por un lado, y, por otro, del ritual y su potencial integrador en los procesos migratorios. Se ha aprovechado el potencial analítico desarrollado por la disciplina para estudiar el caso concreto de la comunidad de búlgaros asentados en Castilla y León y su proceso de integración.

Así, en el caso de las migraciones, hay que destacar la influencia que han tenido las discusiones sobre la pertinencia o no del empleo del aparato conceptual del Sistema Migratorio (De Haas, 2010). Se trata de una discusión abierta en la academia sobre si es un concepto adecuado o no. Durante la investigación tuve la oportunidad de presentar una ponencia en el International Migration Institut en Oxford donde asistí a una discusión sobre este concepto y su aplicación en la investigación antropológica (O Bakewell, de Haas, & Kubal, 2011; Oliver Bakewell, 2012; Massey et al., 1993). Las objeciones que se habían señalado son que resultaba ser un concepto rígido y que la complejidad de los procesos migratorios excedía los límites que marcaba (Arango, 2003). Sin embargo, mi posición en esta investigación es que puede resultar una herramienta útil. No se trata de demostrar que la migración se produce de acuerdo a un sistema establecido, sino de utilizar la noción de sistema como un marco teórico que permite vincular la sociedad de origen, la comunidad emigrada y la sociedad de acogida (Dekker Engbersen, 2012; Gómez Mestres, 2014; Koser Akcapar, 2010). Se ha hecho, por tanto, un uso utilitarista del concepto en lugar de centrarse en la polémica epistemológica abierta sobre su definición.

Un aspecto fundamental a la hora de desarrollar esta investigación ha sido también el de la identidad vinculada a la gestión del patrimonio cultural, representado en el caso de mi trabajo de campo por el ritual. Esta cuestión está ampliamente estudiada en Antropología, y resulta una de las cuestiones claves de la disciplina. Sin embargo, hay varias posiciones enfrentadas al respecto. En el caso de este trabajo se ha abordado la cuestión de la identidad desde una perspectiva constructivista. La identidad se encuentra en una situación de proceso, de evolución, y se va formando por contacto con los otros. Tiene, por tanto, mucho sentido enmarcar este trabajo en la línea de Brubaker, que analiza la identidad no sólo como una construcción, sino que apunta a la existencia de varias identidades que se superponen y que se utilizan de forma diferente en función de los momentos en los que el grupo de encuentre (Brubaker, 2000, 2002, 2013).

Tiene mucho interés, además, incluir aquí a dos grandes clásicos de la disciplina como Barth con su *Group and Boundaries*, donde muestra como lo relevante son las fronteras culturales, no los contenidos específicos de ellas (Barth, 1998). En el caso de esa investigación, se ha visto como los búlgaros apelan a contenidos muy diferentes y les dotan de una relevancia muy distinta en función de los objetivos que tengan en el momento concreto, del mismo modo que lo hace la sociedad de acogida. Lo relevante es que existen unas fronteras culturales, y que estas fronteras culturales se

minimizan en ocasiones mientras que en otras se exageran. La integración de los búlgaros pendula entre la invisibilidad y los momentos en los que se intenta visibilizar a toda costa la existencia del grupo. El ritual aparece como una herramienta poderosa para ambas direcciones del proceso.

También es muy importante la obra de Hobsbawm ya que muestra lo paradójico de la tradición(Hobsbawm, T., Ranger, 1983). Mientras que se presenta como algo ancestral e inmutable, es, en realidad, el producto de una creación intencional cargado de ideología. En el caso de los búlgaros en Castilla y León, la reproducción y reinterpretación del ritual por parte del grupo ha sido uno de los lugares más interesantes para la investigación ya que afloraban los aspectos esenciales de la imposición de ideología por parte del grupo hegemónico al subalterno. Mientras que, presuntamente, estaban celebrando sus ritos de siempre, en realidad estaban construyendo su grupo de ahora, del presente, marcado por la ideología étnica, religiosa y lingüística dominante.

También es muy interesante en este sentido la obra de Handler y sus análisis sobre el uso del patrimonio cultural como discurso ideológico y construcción de identidad en Canadá(Handler, 1998). En su trabajo muestra como la cultura, lejos de ser una cuestión situada por encima de las ideologías, es en realidad el arma de ataque que forma a la comunidad. Es una de las principales herramientas de construcción comunitaria y de difusión ideológica. Esto ha sido fácilmente observable tanto en el caso de la comunidad búlgara como en el caso de la población local. Mientras que el interés por los rituales y las tradiciones se presenta, de forma general, como una cuestión de carácter neutral y de carácter intelectual, es, en realidad, una forma clara de hacer política en el sentido más claro de la palabra. De definir quién está y quién no está en la polis.

La obra de Rappaport resulta también fundamental para comprender esta investigación, puesto que el análisis y el lugar que otorga al ritual son algo básico para la construcción social(Rappaport, 1984, 1999). El grupo se construye a partir del ritual, y, además, el grupo está siempre en contacto con otros grupos, integrado en un sistema mayor. Esta aproximación desde la ecología cultural al estudio del ritual resulta muy interesante para investigar los procesos de transformación que sufren los rituales y sus usos en el contexto de las migraciones.

Existen, además, numerosas fuentes documentales búlgaras que se han tenido en cuenta para realizar esta investigación(Borisova, 2012; Crampton, 2007; Hoddinot, 1975; Karamihova, 2010; Krasteva, 1998). Estas fuentes documentales, de forma general, se asemejan bastante a la producción teórica de la etnografía castellana y leonesa. Depende en gran medida de sus Museos Etnográficos y presenta una alarmante falta de capacidad de crítica. Dan por sentada la verdad oculta en las tradiciones en lugar de realizar un análisis profundo de su significado como herramienta de construcción de grupo y de dominación. A pesar de que, en términos teóricos, esto se sitúa en las antípodas de mi orientación epistemológica, ha resultado una fuente de inspiración

fundamental y básica para comprender en profundidad el tipo de procesos que se producen con los rituales representados y recreados por los búlgaros en Castilla y León. Dentro de estas fuentes documentales destacan, sobre todo, las muchas discusiones sostenidas en el Instituto Etnográfico Nacional de Bulgaria y las frecuentes visitas al Museo Etnográfico Nacional de Bulgaria y al Museo de Historia Nacional de Bulgaria. Durante mi estancia en el país se convirtieron en lugares habituales donde desarrollar en trabajo de campo obteniendo grandes resultados que me permitieron enfocar mi tesis.

Una autora que resulta fundamental para comprender este estudio es Ch. Stallaert. Sus trabajos sobre la gestión y construcción de identidades y espacios sociales en la ciudad de Bruselas y sobre identidad en España resultan una pieza clave para comprender la complejidad del mundo actual y de las bases de la identidad castellana y leonesa(Stallaert, 1998, 2004, 2006). Su mirada crítica pone de manifiesto la vigencia de los antiguos ideales medievales sobre la identidad en el proceso de etnogénesis español. Su habilidad expositiva presenta la confluencia de identidades y sus procesos de construcción en sociedades contemporáneas donde se apela al pasado como base de legitimación de los movimientos presentes. El caso de estudio que aquí se ha desarrollado encaja perfectamente con sus líneas teóricas esbozadas, siendo su visión la más fructífera para poder comprender la sociedad local y el proceso de integración del colectivo búlgaro.

Por último, un autor que ha resultado fundamental ha sido Herzfeld. Sus trabajos sobre antropología en Grecia resulta una pieza clave para comprender la complejidad de la sociedad de los Balcanes, inmersa en un proceso de construcción nacional e identitaria(Herzfeld, 1989, 1993, 2014). La gestión de un pasado fuertemente marcado por la conquista del Imperio Otomano, el recuerdo de un esplendoroso pasado antes de la llegada del “enemigo”, así como su progresiva inclusión en la Unión Europea resultan líneas claves para comprender cualquier sociedad de los Balcanes como es Bulgaria. Esta tensión se resuelve en varios niveles, funcionando a la vez y de forma paradójica discursos de identidad contrapuestos. Por un lado, la exageración de la particularidad local y nacional, por otro, la voluntad de inclusión en un horizonte más amplio. Esta aproximación teórica y su potencial para formular preguntas ha resultado clave para comprender no sólo al colectivo búlgaro, sino también los procesos de gestión y creación de identidades por parte de la comunidad local.

En general, estas son las bases teóricas y los antecedentes en los que se sitúa esta investigación. Existe un conjunto generoso de investigaciones sobre procesos migratorios y sobre procesos de gestión de identidad. También existen numerosos estudios sobre cultura búlgara y sobre cultura de los territorios de León y Castilla. Esta tesis trata de hacer confluir todas esas líneas teóricas y ofrecer así a la Academia una nueva perspectiva a partir de un nuevo trabajo de campo en un lugar poco explorado.

1.3.- COHERENCIA DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN Y MATERIALES PRESENTADOS

Esta investigación desarrollada entre los años de 2012 y 2016 se ha llevado a cabo en un constante tránsito entre el trabajo de campo, el despacho y diferentes sedes académicas para la discusión de resultados. Es por ello que a lo largo de este tiempo se han ido publicando una serie de artículos en los que se iban recogiendo las principales líneas de investigación que guiaban el campo. Los artículos no son algo fortuito, sino que surgen siempre de la confrontación de la experiencia de campo y de la discusión académica, de tal forma que suponen una contribución a una construcción discursiva del conocimiento. Puesto que este ha sido el procedimiento seguido durante todo este tiempo, se consideró pertinente el optar por una tesis por publicaciones puesto que así se recoge de forma más honesta el resultado de la investigación. Es un modo de reconocer la contribución de los muchos colegas que han aportado sus objeciones a mi investigación en diferentes congresos y ponencias.

Para la presentación de esa tesis doctoral se han seleccionado tres artículos que satisfacen los criterios exigidos por la Universidad de Salamanca para la presentación en esta modalidad, además de resultar interesantes para explicar los principales resultados de mi investigación. Estos tres artículos forman parte de un conjunto muy amplio de trabajo y guardan una estrecha coherencia entre ellos. Son, en realidad, tres perspectivas diferentes sobre una misma cuestión: los procesos de integración de la comunidad búlgara en Castilla y León a partir de la gestión de la identidad grupal mediante el ritual.

En cada uno de los artículos se detallan los objetivos y las conclusiones. Sin embargo, se puede hablar de unas hipótesis de trabajo, unos objetivos y unas conclusiones de carácter general que se van a detallar en los próximos apartados. La creación y la gestión de una identidad búlgara es la herramienta más eficaz de integración desarrollada por esta comunidad. En lugar de presentar a los inmigrantes como sujetos pasivos, receptores de las políticas locales, aparecen como protagonistas con un elevado de agencia en el desarrollo de su propio proceso.

De forma específica, los artículos ofrecen diferentes perspectivas sobre esta cuestión y se complementan entre sí, permitiendo que emerja un todo global que responde a la investigación realizada en estos años. Cuestiones como la etnicidad, la religión, redefinición de roles de género, transformación de centro y periferia, el ritual y el uso del patrimonio cultural no son más que hilos que conforman el tapiz de esta tesis. Los siguientes apartados mostrarán con claridad como los artículos presentados son coherentes y consistentes.

1.4.- HIPÓTESIS DE TRABAJO

La Hipótesis Principal que ha guiado esta investigación es el alto grado de integración de la Comunidad Búlgara en Castilla y León. Este alto grado de integración se traduce en una gran capacidad de participación y un alto grado de agencia en la vida de la comunidad local, y tiene su efecto más visible en el hecho de que el colectivo ha alcanzado prácticamente la invisibilidad. Así, mientras que la presencia de los marroquíes está sobredimensionada en el imaginario cultural, o el colectivo rumano está fuertemente estigmatizado, los búlgaros han logrado pasar desapercibidos y compartir rutinas vitales con la población local que raramente repara en el hecho de que provienen de otro país.

El alto grado de integración del colectivo búlgaro en este territorio resulta especialmente interesante puesto que permite explorar qué factores han favorecido esa integración. En el contexto actual de un mundo globalizado, las migraciones se han convertido en un fenómeno normal que, sin embargo, conllevan como contrapartida frecuentes problemas de integración entre la población inmigrante y la sociedad de acogida. Estos problemas de integración pueden llegar en ocasiones a extremos violentos, como la terrible exclusión social que deben afrontar muchos inmigrantes asentados en los barrios marginales de las ciudades del primer mundo.

Una máxima que se aprende en la Academia es que, tal y como defendía Geertz, los antropólogos investigamos en aldeas, no investigamos aldeas (Geertz, 2005). Es decir, los antropólogos descendemos a la concreción de un grupo social más o menos definido para explorar allí cuestiones radicalmente relevantes para la disciplina en general. Si bien es cierto que las conclusiones derivadas de una investigación social no nos permiten obtener recetas universales e infalibles, sí que nos alumbran a la hora de establecer direcciones de investigación y que guíen planteamientos de futuros proyectos de Antropología Aplicada. En este caso concreto, el ejemplo de la comunidad inmigrante búlgara asentada en Castilla y León permite analizar cuestiones como la emergencia de discursos de identidad, el contacto cultural, o las migraciones. Esto hace que el análisis antropológico de esta situación de integración permita establecer líneas de trabajo para la Antropología Aplicada en pos de mejorar la integración de los inmigrantes en las diversas comunidades locales en el mundo actual, al tiempo que se mantiene el compromiso de respeto con la diversidad cultural.

A partir de la Hipótesis Principal de que el colectivo de búlgaro asentado en Castilla y León ha logrado un alto grado de integración, se han formulado una serie de hipótesis que permiten estudiar este hecho, focalizadas en cuestiones como la integración, la participación y la agencia. En primer lugar, se postula que el Sistema Migratorio afecta a la construcción de redes sociales de la

comunidad inmigrante que favorecen su integración en la comunidad de acogida. En segundo lugar, la respuesta local afecta al modo en el que se organiza la comunidad de inmigrantes, influyendo también en el proceso de integración. En tercer lugar, la gestión de la identidad y del ritual por parte del grupo de inmigrantes determina el proceso de integración. Por último, en cuarto lugar, la integración de los inmigrantes aumenta su participación y su grado de agencia en la comunidad local, mejorando su autonomía mediante un proceso de empoderamiento colectivo.

1.- El Sistema Migratorio afecta tanto al proceso migratorio como al proceso de integración de la comunidad inmigrante en el terreno local, favoreciendo la emergencia de redes sociales.

La noción de Sistema Migratorio ha sido ampliamente debatida en los últimos años, matizando su contenido. En términos generales, es un concepto que permite vincular la comunidad de origen, la comunidad emigrada y la comunidad de acogida. La hipótesis de esta investigación es que este sistema, además de funcionar como un transmisor de información que repercute en el flujo migratorio, permite explicar la emergencia de redes sociales que condicionan el proceso de integración en la comunidad de acogida. De este modo, se propone un uso de esta herramienta conceptual más allá de la mera explicación de la pauta de asentamiento para utilizarla también en la comprensión de los procesos de integración entre la comunidad de inmigrantes y la propia población local.

2.- La respuesta local afecta al modo en el que se organiza la comunidad de inmigrantes, influyendo también en el proceso de integración.

La respuesta local es un factor clave a la hora de estudiar los flujos migratorios. El hecho de que por parte de la comunidad de acogida se faciliten los trámites legales, o que existan ayudas o subsidios para inmigrantes, o que haya un gran número de puesto de trabajo o facilidades para la reagrupación familiar son cuestiones que sin lugar a dudas condiciona el proceso de toma de decisiones de los futuros migrantes(Thouez, 2003). Pero, además, esta hipótesis de trabajo plantea que la respuesta local no sólo afecta en cuestiones materiales sino que también determina el modo en el que se produce el asentamiento de la comunidad inmigrante, determinando así el proceso de integración.

La respuesta local modifica y condiciona la organización interna del propio proceso migratorio en su fase de asentamiento lo que a la larga influye el proceso de integración en la comunidad local. Además, esto influirá también en la emergencia de nuevos significados culturales para cuestiones fundamentales como los roles familiares y de género, la redefinición de esfera pública y privada etc.

3.- La gestión de la identidad y de los rituales del grupo de inmigrantes condiciona el proceso de integración. (Determinar me parece excesivo, condicionar, contribuir, consolidar...)

El grupo de inmigrantes no es un sujeto pasivo en el proceso de integración sino que demuestra tener un alto grado de agencia, especialmente en la gestión de su identidad grupal. El ser capaces de generar un discurso identitario como grupo que satisfaga las expectativas de la comunidad local demuestra su alto grado de agencia, al tiempo que da cuenta de su gran conocimiento de la propia comunidad de acogida. Este proceso de creación y gestión de esta identidad grupal para la integración aparece típicamente representado en la gestión y organización del ritual como un lugar para la expresión y confrontación de las identidades tanto locales como de la población inmigrante.

4.- La integración de la comunidad de inmigrantes se traduce en un aumento progresivo de su grado de agencia dentro de la comunidad de acogida, mejorando sus posibilidades de participación en un proceso de empoderamiento que los hace más autónomos y más competentes.

El impacto de la inmigración sobre la sociedad local ha sido ampliamente estudiado, especialmente en términos económicos y demográficos. La llegada de un nuevo grupo de personas a un lugar permite una recuperación demográfica, además de modificar los patrones salariales que afectan en una primera fase al grupo de inmigrantes y que, en poco tiempo, se extienden al todo social. En este sentido, es razonable suponer que hay una modificación de la sociedad local por parte de la comunidad inmigrante, superando así la visión de que se trata de sujetos meramente pasivos, receptores de políticas locales.

Esta hipótesis se extiende más allá del ámbito económico y demográfico en el contexto de esta investigación. Puesto que uno de los ejes temáticos principales es la emergencia de nuevos discursos de identidad, es importante destacar como los inmigrantes modifican también las pautas de identificación local. Las culturas no son algo estático y cerrado sino que se interrelacionan y adquieren elementos unas de otras. La llegada de inmigrantes afecta a la población local de un modo profundo y fundamental, variando los hábitos de los usos tanto domésticos como privados.

1.5.- OBJETIVOS DE INVESTIGACIÓN

El objetivo fundamental de esta investigación es el de responder a los motivos que han llevado a un alto grado de integración de la comunidad búlgara en Castilla y León, en contraste con las dificultades de integración que parecen sufrir otras comunidades. Se trata de dar una respuesta desde la Antropología a la invisibilidad de este colectivo con el fin de poder extraer conclusiones que resulten útiles para mejorar otros procesos de integración de otras comunidades siguiendo los parámetros de la Antropología Aplicada.

Los artículos que integran esta tesis muestran de forma específica los objetivos en los que se han focalizado. En este apartado expondré los principales objetivos que han guiado la investigación en general, mostrando así la coherencia de todo el proceso de investigación.

En primer lugar, se trata de investigar las estrategias de la comunidad búlgara en Castilla y León. En segundo lugar, se persigue analizar las estrategias de inclusión por parte de la comunidad local hacia los colectivos inmigrantes. En tercer lugar, analizar y comprender la realidad de los inmigrantes búlgaros en Castilla y León. En cuarto lugar, investigar la articulación de los discursos locales y globales sobre la identidad. En quinto lugar, analizar el ritual y su papel en la emergencia y gestión de discursos identitarios. Por último, en sexto lugar, formular propuestas y medidas desde la Antropología Aplicada para facilitar procesos de integración a partir del caso de estudio.

1.- Investigar las Estrategias de Integración de la Comunidad Búlgara en Castilla y León.

El primer objetivo consiste en analizar el modo en el que la comunidad Búlgara ha desarrollado una serie de estrategias que han favorecido su proceso de integración. Esto tiene varias implicaciones teóricas que guían la praxis antropológica como son el reconocer a los búlgaros un amplio grado de agencia, así como asumir que la integración no es un estatus alcanzado, sino un proceso.

En primer lugar, los búlgaros no son un sujeto pasivo, receptor de políticas públicas de promoción de la integración, sino que desarrollan estrategias de integración que han resultado exitosas. Esto implica reconocer a este colectivo un elevado grado de agencia. La propia noción de Sistema Migratorio apunta ya a esta agencia por parte de los inmigrantes, ya que son ellos los que, en definitiva, constituyen las cadenas que integran el Sistema y que propician nuevas migraciones. En este caso se trata de extender la comprensión de este grado de agencia más allá del proceso de asentamiento, hacia la integración. Los búlgaros se marcan como objetivo la integración, adquieren una serie de conocimientos relevantes sobre la comunidad local, y actúan en consecuencia para lograr sus objetivos.

En segundo lugar, la integración debe ser entendida como un proceso más que como un estatus alcanzado. Este objetivo implica investigar el permanente proceso de negociación del colectivo de

inmigrantes y la comunidad local que se mueve entre dos polos; la segregación y la integración total. Las fronteras de los grupos se mantienen y se reafirman o desaparecen según el tipo de acciones que se emprendan por ellos, de tal manera que se pueden acentuar, acercándose así a la segregación, o minimizar hasta casi desaparecer, llegando así al grado más elevado de integración. Esto es un proceso en constante redefinición, que se centra, sobre todo, en la negociación sobre cuestiones de carácter lingüístico, étnico y religioso.

2.- Investigar las Estrategias de Inclusión por parte de la Comunidad Local frente a los colectivos Inmigrantes.

El proceso de integración se debe no sólo a la acción del colectivo búlgaro sino también, y en gran medida, al modo en el que se articula la respuesta local. Las particularidades demográficas de la Comunidad Autónoma hicieron necesario que se desarrollaran estrategias que favorecieran el asentamiento de inmigrantes para frenar así el colapso demográfico. Este tipo de estrategias estuvieron focalizadas desde el principio en fomentar la integración de los inmigrantes en el terreno local para evitar potenciales fuentes de conflicto.

Las estrategias de integración desarrolladas por parte de la comunidad local están enfocadas, sobre todo, a la promoción de identidades culturales que puedan convivir, al mismo tiempo que se fomenta la inclusión mediante la aparición de recursos específicos que cubren necesidades básicas de salud, educación y promoción del empleo. Investigar esta respuesta resulta especialmente relevante puesto que determina cómo se produce la integración, sobre todo en términos de gestión cultural e identitaria.

Implica, además, la idea de proceso puesto que la perspectiva diacrónica muestra como a lo largo de estos años, los inmigrantes han ido aumentando su grado de agencia, participando activamente en la definición de este tipo de estrategias.

Por último, este objetivo permite analizar la emergencia de jerarquías en el terreno local, establecidas a partir de grado de agencia logrado en la definición de las estrategias de integración que coordinan la interacción de los inmigrantes y la comunidad local. Estas jerarquías afectan también a la organización interna de los grupos de inmigrantes.

3.- Analizar y comprender la realidad de los inmigrantes búlgaros en Castilla y León.

Mejorar la comprensión de la realidad del colectivo de emigrantes búlgaro asentado en la comunidad autónoma es un objetivo fundamental de esta investigación, derivado directamente de la hipótesis principal que la guía. La alta integración de estos inmigrantes en la comunidad de acogida se traduce, en muchas ocasiones, en invisibilidad social. Esta invisibilidad, sin embargo, puede estar

ocultando situaciones dolorosas para los propios migrantes. De esta manera, mejorando el conocimiento sobre ellos se cumplirá con uno de los objetivos de la Antropología que consiste en dar voz a los que no tienen voz.

En primer lugar, satisfacer este objetivo ha mejorado la comprensión del proceso migratorio, permitiendo detectar situaciones de injusticia social cometida contra ellos, así como los puntos fuertes que han posibilitado la integración. Este conocimiento resulta particularmente relevante puesto que permite establecer guías de actuación para facilitar el proceso migratorio y de integración de otros colectivos, al tiempo que pone de manifiesto las principales dificultades que afrontan los inmigrantes.

En segundo lugar, este objetivo ha permitido profundizar en la cuestión de la identidad cultural búlgara y en el modo en el que esa identidad cultural se ve transformada en el proceso migratorio por el contacto con la comunidad de acogida. En este sentido, se han aportado visiones muy interesantes sobre la cuestión de la etnicidad, la religión y el idioma que ayudan a comprender no sólo el grupo cultural búlgaro, sino también la propia comunidad de acogida y las sinergias que se crean entre ambas en el proceso discursivo de definición identitaria. Esto incluye esferas de la vida privada como es la cuestión de la definición de los roles de género en el seno del grupo de inmigrantes mediante su interacción con la comunidad de acogida.

4.-Investigar el modo en el que se articulan los discursos locales y globales sobre la identidad.

Este objetivo ha permitido explorar el modo en el que se traducen al nivel local los grandes dictados globales emitidos por la Comunidad Europea. Esto ha supuesto incluir en la investigación a las agencias supranacionales como actores sociales, mostrando así su relevancia en contextos locales concretos. De este modo, el caso de estudio aquí presentado permite comprender mejor las dinámicas actuales de promoción de identidad y tratamiento de las migraciones.

En el contexto actual de la Unión Europea, se están impulsando dos direcciones de trabajo paralelas que, sin embargo, entran en tensión. Por un lado, se trata de promover una identidad intercultural capaz de sustentar a la propia unión y muy vinculada a la noción de ciudadano europeo que subyace a todo el proyecto. Por otro lado, desde las propias instituciones europeas, se está promoviendo la conservación y exhibición de las muestras culturales que nos hace ser diferentes y nos particulariza. Supone, por tanto, una tensión entre un discurso de carácter universalista y otro particularista. La llamada a una identidad que permita construir un gran colectivo articulado sobre pequeñas diferencias. Este hecho se plasma en numerosas esferas de la vida cotidiana de cada uno de los estados miembros y tiene su reflejo más palpable en la proliferación de los Museos Etnográficos.

Mostrando los aspectos culturales típicamente diferenciadores de los grupos locales, son tan parecidos unos a otros que resultan ser casi iguales.

En lo que se refiere a migración, esta tensión también se hace patente. El caso de los búlgaros es particularmente interesante porque, en sentido estricto, se trata de movilidad y no de migración puesto que son ciudadanos de la Unión Europea. Sin embargo, más allá de las cuestiones legales, han llevado a cabo un proceso migratorio que permite que en esta tesis se les considere conceptualmente como emigrantes. La gestión local de esta migración se ve también arrastrada por esa tensión entre lo general y lo particular. Los propios búlgaros, en el quehacer diario de sus asociaciones, reinterpretan otra vez estos discursos globales.

De este modo, investigar la articulación de estas retóricas a nivel local tendrá una relevancia significativa a nivel global ya que permitirá valorar la pertinencia de las políticas Europeas en materia de gestión de identidades culturales, especialmente las vinculadas a los procesos migratorios. Una correcta gestión de estas políticas está en la base del éxito de la Unión. Europea.

5.- Analizar el papel del ritual como factor clave en la emergencia y difusión de discursos identitarios.

Este objetivo ha permitido aumentar el conocimiento sobre el uso estratégico que realiza la comunidad búlgara de su identidad cultural como una vía de integración. El ritual aparece como el espacio en el que se exhiben los diferentes discursos de identidad y las jerarquías internas y externas del grupo, resultando así un lugar interesante para analizar los procesos de transformación de la identidad, tanto de la comunidad local como de la comunidad de inmigrantes.

Se ha entendido el ritual desde una perspectiva amplia, de forma que en su estudio se ha prestado una especial atención al proceso de decisiones previo a la propia realización del ritual. En estos procesos se ha visto cómo se promueve una identidad búlgara colectiva y homogénea que silencia la diversidad interna. Se articulan así varias identidades en diferentes niveles. Por otro lado, la propia comunidad local exhibe sus señas de identidad en sus rituales. Estudiar qué tipo de rituales permiten qué tipo de participación y qué grado de agencia tiene cada participante ha demostrado ser una vía muy fructífera para comprender el progresivo proceso de integración de los búlgaros en el contexto local de Castilla y León.

6.- Formular propuestas de medidas desde la Antropología Aplicada para facilitar procesos de integración de inmigrantes a partir de la experiencia del caso de estudio.

Un objetivo fundamental de esta investigación ha sido el de poder formular propuestas de intervención desde la Antropología Aplicada que permitan mejorar los procesos de integración de

los inmigrantes. Este objetivo ha permitido organizar la información obtenida en el campo para detectar las necesidades y los puntos fuertes de la experiencia del caso de estudio. Además, al mismo tiempo, se han buscado opciones viables que permitan difundir esta información de forma que se generen sinergias en beneficio de la integración de los inmigrantes y la comunidad local.

Así se ha llegado a detectar como un punto de intervención fundamental el proceso de difusión de los proyectos desarrollados por las asociaciones de inmigrantes. De forma bastante habitual, y derivado de la política local de acogida, estas asociaciones realizan proyectos de difusión cultural. Sin embargo, estos proyectos raramente tienen una audiencia fuera de la propia comunidad de inmigrantes. Dar más difusión al trabajo que ellos mismos realizan sería un modo muy adecuado de empoderarles socialmente y aumentar su grado de agencia.

Otro punto que se ha mostrado como susceptible de una intervención desde la Antropología Aplicada es en la escuela. A pesar de que anualmente se realizan campañas de promoción de la diversidad cultural para mejorar las condiciones de vida de los inmigrantes, la información suele resultar bastante genérica y poco ajustada a la realidad de los colectivos de la región. La Antropología puede suplir esta carencia dotando a los programas de contenidos concretos y específicos que reflejen la realidad de uno de los colectivos de inmigrantes más numerosos en la región.

1.6.- PRINCIPALES CONCLUSIONES

La conclusión principal de esta investigación es que la integración lograda por la comunidad de inmigrantes búlgaros en Castilla y León es un proceso que se debe en gran medida a la agencia ejercida por el propio colectivo de inmigrantes, junto con la respuesta local. Puesto que se trata de una tesis por artículos, en cada uno de los documentos presentados a continuación se detallan las conclusiones particulares que se han trabajado de forma específica. En este apartado se desarrollarán las conclusiones generales extraídas de todos y del trabajo de campo realizado durante el período de investigación.

Así, en primer lugar, se ha llegado a la conclusión de que la integración de los búlgaros emigrados depende en gran medida de su propia capacidad para desarrollar estrategias de integración. En segundo lugar, la respuesta local afecta no sólo a la integración, sino que también influye en la organización de la vida cotidiana del grupo emigrado. En tercer lugar, la gestión del patrimonio cultural es un medio de empoderamiento para el colectivo emigrado. En cuarto lugar, la interpretación de los discursos globales de la interculturalidad tiene su influencia en el desarrollo de la vida cotidiana del grupo emigrado y en su proceso de integración. En quinto lugar, la Antropología Aplicada permite formular una propuesta de intervención que mejore las posibilidades de integración del grupo emigrado.

1.-La integración de la comunidad de búlgaros emigrados en Castilla y León depende en gran medida de su propia implementación de una serie de estrategias de integración.

La integración de los inmigrantes, en este caso de los búlgaros, no puede entenderse como una situación estática y alcanzada, sino que, más bien, es un proceso que se encuentra en una situación de evolución permanente. Es por ello que los inmigrantes juegan un papel fundamental en este proceso, desarrollando estrategias de integración que facilitan su inclusión en la sociedad de acogida.

En el caso de los búlgaros en Castilla y León, estas estrategias de integración se mueven entre la integración y la segregación y se basan principalmente en la gestión de la identidad común, especialmente en términos de lengua, etnia y religión. En la medida en que se acercan al polo de la integración, las fronteras del grupo cultural se minimizan. Al mismo tiempo, en la medida en que se reafirma la especificidad de unas determinadas señas culturales por parte del grupo, se remarcan las fronteras y, de este modo, se acercan al polo de la segregación. El proceso de integración implica una actuación hábil que permita mantener la diferencia alcanzando la integración.

En primer lugar, esto conlleva un elevado grado de conocimiento de los parámetros identitarios locales. A diferencia de otras Comunidades Autónomas, Castilla y León carece de un discurso de

identidad. Se formó de manera tardía y con graves problemas internos desde el principio entre el sector que prefería a León solo, y el que apoyaba la unión de ambas regiones. Esta división, junto con la falta de una lengua propia y específica diluye sus particularidades, haciendo compleja la emergencia de discursos identitarios sólidos que les diferencien de otras regiones (Díaz Viana, 1995, 2010). Más bien al contrario, la identidad leonesa y castellana se apoya en una defensa de la identidad nacional más tradicional que funde el ser español con ser cristiano y castellanoparlante (Cámara Villar, 1984; Stallaert, 1998, 2004, 2006). A pesar de la diversidad cultural presente en la sociedad actual, los viejos valores de la España más tradicional perviven en el imaginario colectivo.

El caso de Bulgaria y su construcción identitaria es un reflejo de lo que sucede en muchos otros países de los Balcanes. Tras cinco siglos de pertenencia al Imperio Otomano, sus señas de identidad apelan a una época gloriosa y medieval, de independencia, que contrasta con una sociedad muy diversa en términos de etnia, religión e idioma (Crampton, 2007; Lang, 1986; Maeva, 2012; Mc. Intyre, R., 1988; Nikoloff, 1987). Así, por ejemplo, en la actualidad los grupos étnicos juegan un papel muy importante en la sociedad, apareciendo eslavos, gitanos, pomaks, turcobúlgaros, judíos, armenios y un largo etcétera. Esta diversidad goza de reconocimiento interno dentro del grupo de búlgaros que rápidamente identifican el origen de cada uno de ellos (Mizov, 2011; Magdalena Slavkova, 2007; Yanakiev, 2011). Sin embargo, en el proceso migratorio se ha visto como silencian estas diferencias y promueven una identidad étnica unitaria, una etnicidad “búlgara” que mejora sus posibilidades de integración al no estar lastrada con ningún elemento discordante con los parámetros identitarios locales.

Así, es frecuente que oculten sus raíces étnicas, y cuando son preguntados refieran a *otros búlgaros* como los pertenecientes al grupo étnico de los gitanos o los turcobúlgaros (Deneva, 2008; Maeva, 2012). Sólo cuando se alcanza un elevado grado de intimidad y confianza empiezan a poder verse estas cuestiones étnicas. Esto ha hecho que mientras que la población local identifique de forma casi automática a los rumanos con los gitanos, guarde silencio frente a los búlgaros por no entender muy bien qué son. Esto muestra cómo la gestión étnica es una estrategia de integración útil para el grupo búlgaro que le otorga una ventaja frente a otros grupos en el terreno local.

Con los aspectos religiosos sucede algo similar. En la sociedad búlgara de hoy en día se observa un mosaico interesante de confesiones religiosas. Con una mayoría de cristianos ortodoxos de la Iglesia Ortodoxa de Bulgaria, aparecen también numerosos ateos, judíos, musulmanes, evangélicos, Ortodoxos de la Iglesia Rusa, y algún Católico. Durante el proceso migratorio silencian esta diversidad y se presentan como grupo como cristianos, sin matizar de qué tipo. De este modo, encajan mejor con los parámetros identitarios locales y son percibidos como culturalmente cercanos y compartiendo una base común.

En cuanto al lenguaje, generalmente aprenden a hablar castellano con bastante rapidez, de tal manera que pueden tener conversaciones cotidianas con sus vecinos desde bastante temprano, facilitando así su socialización. El hecho de que los diferentes actos y eventos que organicen estén pensados siempre en búlgaro y en castellano les acerca mucho a la comunidad local ya que se elimina la barrera lingüística.

Uno de los momentos donde mejor se aprecia este uso estratégico de la identidad es en la celebración y participación de los rituales. Los rituales llevados a cabo por las diferentes asociaciones de búlgaros se convierten en momentos de exaltación de esa identidad “búlgara” creada en el proceso migratorio, y que silencia y excluye a las realidades culturales subyacentes. Por ejemplo, la celebración de su fiesta nacional, el día 3 de Marzo, es un momento de análisis muy interesante. Se celebra *la liberación del yugo Otomano por parte del pueblo búlgaro*. Se organiza una exhibición de bailes y de poesía en algún centro cívico de la ciudad y se invita a la población local y a las autoridades locales. En la representación se cuenta la Historia de Bulgaria en búlgaro y en castellano. El discurso está montado de tal manera que la población local percibe rápidamente la analogía con el proceso de la Reconquista, lo que les hace sentir más cerca culturalmente hablando al compartir un enemigo común.

Al mismo tiempo, esta estrategia de integración mediante la promoción de una identidad búlgara conlleva en sí misma una estrategia de segregación en un doble nivel. Por un lado, en un nivel interno, implica silenciar y segregar las diferencias. Los grupos que no comparten la identidad preferida para la integración se ven ninguneados. Por otro lado, en un nivel externo, fortalecer la noción de “lo búlgaro” supone también fortalecer la frontera entre el grupo cultural búlgaro y otros grupos de inmigrantes y la población local.

De este modo se muestra como la integración es un proceso complejo en el que interviene la gestión de la propia identidad colectiva del grupo emigrado, y que afecta también a los procesos personales de identificación de los miembros del grupo.

2.- La respuesta local condiciona y modifica no sólo el proceso de integración, sino también el desarrollo de vida cotidiana del grupo emigrado.

Una conclusión fundamental derivada de esta investigación es que la influencia de la respuesta local va más allá del propio proceso de asentamiento y de integración, afectando también al desarrollo de la vida cotidiana del grupo emigrado. El modo en el que se organiza la sociedad de acogida modifica el modo en el que se organiza el grupo emigrado, convirtiéndose también esta modificación en una estrategia de integración en sí misma ya que supone incorporar la lógica local a los procesos propios del grupo.

Al emplear la noción de Sistema Migratorio como herramienta de análisis se integraban la comunidad de origen, la comunidad emigrada y la comunidad de acogida. El tipo de reacciones que haya en la comunidad de acogida se convierten en información relevante que condiciona el proceso de toma de decisiones sobre el proceso migratorio. En Castilla y León, debido a la situación de déficit demográfico en que se encuentran, se han desarrollado una serie de políticas que favorezcan el asentamiento de determinados grupos de inmigrantes que puedan paliar de alguna manera la desastrosa realidad. Estas medidas incluyen tanto una cierta permisividad y tolerancia con la inmigración en términos políticos y legales, como la implementación de medidas específicas para mejorar la acogida de los inmigrantes.

El objetivo era reclutar mano de obra para el sector agrícola, la construcción y el cuidado y atención de personas mayores. Desde el principio se apostó por favorecer la integración de los inmigrantes para evitar la aparición de grupos sociales marginados. La respuesta fue promovida por las autoridades municipales con la ayuda de las diferentes ONG's que existían en el terreno local, más un número considerable de nuevas ONG's que se fundaron con el objetivo específico de mejorar la calidad de vida de los nuevos pobladores.

De este modo, las ONG's de atención a inmigrantes se convirtieron en los primeros lugares de contacto no sólo de los inmigrantes con la población local, sino de los diferentes grupos de inmigrantes entre sí. Esto implica que es aquí donde comienza el proceso de negociación y diálogo que permite construir el grupo en el nuevo entorno local (Boyd & Ellison, 2010; Dekker Engbersen, 2012; Mitchell, 1969; Tichy, Fombrun, & Noel, 1979). Las redes sociales que tejieron los primeros búlgaros incluyen a numerosos miembros de otros colectivos de inmigrantes, así como a miembros de la comunidad local. Esto ha influido mucho en su proceso de asentamiento y de integración posterior.

Además, la política local promueve la formación de asociaciones como un modo de trabajo con la inmigración. Para evitar una adhesión homogeneizante del grupo de inmigrantes, se les propone la creación de asociaciones en las que puedan mantener sus costumbres y contribuir así a la sociedad. Anualmente se sacan algunas líneas de financiación encaminadas a dar viabilidad económica a proyectos de estas asociaciones. Esto implica que se permite que las asociaciones tengan un papel activo en la propuesta y desarrollo de proyectos. Esta financiación, además, impone como requisito indispensable que sean actividades y proyectos dirigidos a toda la sociedad y no sólo al grupo de inmigrantes que compone la asociación.

Este modo de organizarse la respuesta local afecta a la organización de las propias asociaciones. El caso búlgaro resulta muy interesante puesto que son asociaciones bastante activas que participan en un gran número de proyectos. Su participación es entendida por ellos como un modo de

empoderamiento colectivo, y son conscientes de que es necesaria una colaboración con otros grupos de inmigrantes para lograr sus objetivos. De esta manera, los proyectos de difusión cultural búlgaros pasan por un período de negociación y diálogo que les confronta con otras realidades sociales, buscando siempre maximizar sus posibilidades de integración al tiempo que logran una promoción cultural del propio grupo. Esto se ha visto, por ejemplo, en la creación de espectáculos de “Danzas de los Balcanes” por parte de la Asociación Rodina de Segovia, o el desarrollo de proyectos con grupos de Sudamérica y de Asociaciones de Vecinos por la Asociación Stara Planina de Valladolid.

En la medida en que las asociaciones de inmigrantes han ido creciendo han ido ampliando sus expectativas, tratando también de prestar asistencia a los nuevos inmigrantes. De este modo, las asociaciones se convierten en un elemento colectivo de empoderamiento social. Han realizado un proceso que les ha llevado a ser beneficiarios de las ayudas de las ONG's en la escena local a competir contra ellas por los recursos para la atención de inmigrantes.

Este modo de trabajar desde las asociaciones impone un diálogo permanente entre diferentes inmigrantes y miembros de la comunidad local, de tal manera que la asociación se convierte en el foro en el que se negocian las transformaciones de los roles culturales, como las cuestiones de género y parentesco (Nikolik-Ristanovik, 2002; MAGDALENA Slavkova, 2012). Es el espacio en el que se confrontan las visiones del país de origen con las visiones del grupo de acogida y se ve el modo en el que otros han resuelto esta tensión. De este modo, la respuesta local, al promover la aparición de asociaciones y motivar el trabajo en común, favorece la negociación de los cambios de roles y afecta a las esferas más personales de la vida cotidiana de los inmigrantes. Esta negociación resulta crucial para lograr la integración de la comunidad de inmigrantes en la comunidad de acogida.

3.- La gestión del patrimonio cultural es un medio de empoderamiento para el colectivo de inmigrantes.

Otra conclusión importante de esta investigación es poner de manifiesto el papel que tiene la gestión del patrimonio cultural como una herramienta de empoderamiento para el colectivo de inmigrantes búlgaro, al tiempo que facilita su integración en la comunidad local. La participación de los búlgaros mediante sus asociaciones en los diferentes rituales y eventos organizados en la escena local les otorga un puesto en la comunidad de acogida, permitiendo así su participación. Sin embargo, esta participación siempre les sitúa como un grupo subalterno, los invitados, frente al grupo hegemónico o dominante, los organizadores.

Es por eso que organizar sus propios rituales es una actividad fundamental que supone revertir esta situación. En este sentido, se puede entender que organizar sus propios actos les sitúa en la posición

dominante, la de organizadores, convirtiendo a los demás en los invitados. Esto se aprecia claramente en el caso de la celebración del día Nacional de Bulgaria. En el ritual organizado se cuida mucho reservar unas filas para los invitados especiales, entre los que se encuentran los representantes de la corporación municipal y los representantes de otras asociaciones de inmigrantes. Los búlgaros se convierten así en anfitriones, y ocupan una posición hegemónica frente a los que tradicionalmente organizan las actividades para ellos o con ellos. Esto implica un mayor grado de agencia y de independencia en la vida pública de la comunidad local.

En la celebración de esta festividad, además, se tiene por costumbre regalar las *martenizas*, pulseras rojas y blancas vinculadas con el espíritu nacional y la llegada de la primavera. La tradición manda regalarla a los seres queridos y lucirla hasta la llegada efectiva de la primavera. Sin embargo, en este ritual, se regalan de forma deliberada a las autoridades, situando así a los búlgaros en la posición del que da un regalo, y a las autoridades en la deficitaria posición del que lo recibe (Mauss, 2002).

Además de esta inversión de los roles entre organizador-invitado, la gestión del patrimonio cultural en los rituales permite mejorar la visión del grupo en el terreno local. El desconocimiento por parte de la población local de la cultura búlgara resulta alarmante. Es por ello que, paralelamente al festival, se organizan exposiciones de arte y de historia para explicar a la población de Castilla y León la riqueza que atesora un país que, por otro lado, resulta ser el más pobre de la Unión Europea. El patrimonio cultural es invocado como una forma de superación de la mala situación económica a la que se contrapone un esplendoroso patrimonio. Este mayor conocimiento por parte de la población local, y hábilmente dirigido por parte de las asociaciones de búlgaros, mejora las posibilidades de integración de todo el colectivo, sobre todo por el modo estratégico de mostrar similitudes entre procesos históricos de ambos países.

4.- El modo en el que se interpretan los discursos globales de la interculturalidad influye y condiciona el proceso de integración y la vida cotidiana de la comunidad emigrada.

Otra conclusión interesante de esta investigación es que la integración y la vida cotidiana de la comunidad de inmigrantes se ve también afectada por el modo en el que se interpretan los discursos globales de la interculturalidad. Esto supone incluir la agencia supranacional en la comprensión del estudio de caso, mostrando así la confluencia de procesos más complejos en los entornos locales.

La Unión Europea es un ente político bastante complejo, que ha logrado sólo una comprensión parcial por parte de sus ciudadanos. Uno de los aspectos en los que parece apoyarse su noción de ciudadanía es en la promoción de unos mínimos derechos y el fomento de la diversidad cultural como una seña de identidad del Viejo Continente. Así, desde Bruselas, se ha orquestado toda una

campaña de fondos y subvenciones encaminada a favorecer la conservación del patrimonio cultural de cada región, reconociendo así sus particularidades (Degregori, 1999; Hernández, 2005; Rex & Núñez, 1998). Este reconocimiento del derecho a la diferencia se hace desde el discurso de la interculturalidad.

La interculturalidad es una idea compleja que, en líneas generales, parece promover el derecho a la diferencia cultural siempre y cuando se garantice un horizonte de diálogo discursivo entre todas las tradiciones culturales. Frente a la metafísica subyacente a la multiculturalidad, que otorgaba al grupo cultural es estatus ontológico predominante, ahora se reconoce la prioridad del sujeto individual que puede elegir entre diversos aspectos culturales sin que sea una traición renunciar a algunos.

Este tema resulta bastante complejo en un nivel teórico y también en un nivel político. Como sucede con muchos otros dictados que parten de la Unión Europea, se presenta como un discurso universalista que, sin embargo, debe concretarse en las particularidades locales para hacerse efectivo. Así sucede que es la agencia local la que determina cómo se interpreta esa interculturalidad y en qué se materializa. En este caso de estudio, serán las instituciones políticas locales y regionales las encargadas de dar el primer paso en la traducción.

Esto se ha hecho destinando fondos que promueven la difusión de las particularidades culturales de los grupos de inmigrantes, pero siempre en un modo de diálogo con otros grupos. Aparece típicamente representado en la celebración de las diferentes Jornadas Interculturales que se llevan a cabo en las distintas ciudades. En ellas, las diferentes asociaciones de inmigrantes se ven obligadas a preparar actividades de difusión cultural, lo que les permite participar en el panorama local.

El caso de los búlgaros ilustra la relevancia de estos festivales como espacios de participación. Así, se ve como su rol ha ido modificándose a lo largo de los años, aumentando su grado de agencia y participación. Si al principio se contentaban con organizar algo que poder mostrar, pronto empezaron a reclamar poder participar en el proceso de toma de decisiones, solicitando incluso un cambio de lugar en la celebración.

Además, la participación de las asociaciones de inmigrantes en el proceso de traducción de la interculturalidad al terreno local es fundamental y afecta a su modo de comprensión de su propia cultura. El caso búlgaro ilustra cómo año tras año hay que negociar en el seno de la asociación qué tipo de cultura puede exhibirse y para quién, redefiniéndose así los significados de público y privado. Se incorporan nuevos elementos que con el paso del tiempo se van integrando en lo que se consideran sus tradiciones, al tiempo que elementos búlgaros pasan a formar parte del imaginario colectivo. Es por ello que el proceso de reapropiación de las lógicas universalistas de la

interculturalidad por parte de las comunidades de inmigrantes afecta y transforma sus propios elementos culturales y su comprensión de ellos.

5.- Un proyecto de Antropología Aplicada mejora la comprensión del fenómeno migratorio y aumenta las posibilidades de integración del grupo en la comunidad local.

A lo largo de esta investigación, la exigencia del trabajo de campo y de la observación participante han situado mi rol en el de antropólogo de campo que contribuye con la comunidad búlgara y la comunidad local para mejorar su integración. Al tiempo que se desarrollaban las tareas de investigación, la ayuda era requerida por ambas partes principalmente para lograr un mejor conocimiento de la realidad de la cultura búlgara.

Este mayor conocimiento es relevante para la población local porque mejora su posibilidad de comprensión de sus nuevos vecinos, al tiempo que les permite evaluar la posibilidad de nuevas vías en materia de inmigración y promoción cultural en la esfera local.

En el caso de los búlgaros que han participado en esta investigación, todos ellos han coincidido en la necesidad de darse a conocer como un grupo con una cultura fuerte y digna de admiración como una herramienta de empoderamiento social. Siempre y cuando este conocimiento sobre sus particularidades culturales no echara por tierra su hábil gestión étnica, base fundamental de su integración.

Desde la Antropología Aplicada se ha planteado una intervención en dos niveles: en las asociaciones y en el ámbito escolar, desarrollando experiencias piloto que han mostrado su viabilidad. En cuanto a las asociaciones, la participación de forma activa como mediador cultural mejora las posibilidades del grupo de darse a conocer. La tarea ha consistido en dotar a los búlgaros de las herramientas conceptuales necesarias para que pudieran hacer más accesibles sus contenidos culturales a la población local. Hay que destacar que en este sentido ellos ya tenían una gran parte del camino andada, de tal manera que la praxis antropológica ha consistido en reforzar sus actuaciones e intervenciones cuando ellos lo han requerido.

En el caso del ámbito escolar, existen numerosas campañas contra la xenofobia, centradas en la inmigración, y numerosos eventos escolares que se desarrollan para mostrar la cultura de otros grupos. El silencio sobre la población búlgara y su cultura resulta particularmente alarmante. Es por ello que se ha realizado una intervención a pequeña escala, mostrando cómo la población local sí que tiene interés en este grupo cultural, y que los jóvenes escolarizados en nuestro sistema se sienten reconocidos en este tipo de actividades.

Han sido dos intervenciones encaminadas a mostrar la pertinencia de la Antropología Aplicada como base para lograr un cambio social, capaz de mejorar las condiciones de vida de las personas a partir del conocimiento profundo y el respeto por las decisiones y la autonomía del grupo.

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Migración, integración, participación: estrategias de desarrollo local. El caso de la comunidad búlgara en Valladolid

ALBERTO ALONSO PONGA GARCÍA
MARÍA JESÚS PENA CASTRO

This paper analyses the significance of development strategies in the process of integration of different migrant communities in urban contexts. This is a challenge for the destination societies, since the new habitants should be incorporated in the local contexts. On the basis of the case study of the Bulgarian community settled in Valladolid, we will explore on the one hand the integration process, considering that the public promotion of migrants associations contributes to the development of migrants' hierarchies based on the negotiation of participation and power rates, and on the other how are they related to the management of the identity of the groups. Therefore, the intercultural discourse promoted by the city council affects the community since they take ownership of its narratives. Accordingly, they radicalize their expressions from the internal homogenization to the external differentiation. Furthermore, we will explain the influence of these integration processes in the redefinition of centre and periphery in the urban context by the participation of these new social actors in the collective dynamic. Consequently, the migrants' participation in the urban ritual enables their integration through their contribution to the symbolic construction of town.

1. La ciudad: nuevos retos, nuevos habitantes

El mundo moderno occidental se caracteriza por una marcada pauta de asentamiento en entornos urbanos, con una caída de la población en el mundo rural (Gómez-Limón-Atance-Rico 2007), lo que ha provocado el crecimiento de las ciudades en los últimos cincuenta años, llegando a ser amplios conglomerados de asfalto, encrucijadas de calles, parques, jardines, edificios dotacionales y viviendas. Este crecimiento, además, ha supuesto no solo el incremento de la población urbana en términos cuantitativos sino también en términos de comple-

alidad social, con la incorporación de un número creciente de grupos culturales que comparten y transforman un espacio.

Dentro de estos grupos que aparecen en los entornos urbanos, a finales del siglo XX y comienzos del siglo XXI, destacan los diferentes inmigrantes que se asentaron en la geografía española en busca de oportunidades de una vida mejor (Rengifo Calderón-Oporto del Olmo 2005), aumentando la diversidad cultural de una sociedad cada vez más heterogénea. Estos vecinos habitan la ciudad, generando una serie de relaciones sociales que también implican a la población local. El éxito de la convivencia en un entorno culturalmente diverso reside en las estrategias de comunicación establecidas entre los diferentes grupos que permitan que los individuos circulen e interactúen unos con otros en los diferentes espacios públicos compartidos.

La ciudad presenta una larga trayectoria como objeto de reflexión y estudio antropológico (Glick 1993). En este caso de estudio, queremos hacer hincapié en la dimensión simbólica que ostentan los espacios urbanos, más allá de las concepciones físicas del entorno (Cruces Villalobos 2009). La noción de centro y periferia resulta fundamental a la hora de comprender una ciudad. En toda ciudad existen una serie de espacios centrales, lugares que gozan de una posición hegemónica en el entramado urbano a ojos de los habitantes. Y frente a estos espacios donde tienen lugar los eventos más destacados de la vida política y cultural de la ciudad, existen una serie de espacios periféricos que ocupan una posición subalterna, y que raramente son empleados para el desarrollo de actividades trascendentes programadas desde el ayuntamiento.

Centro y periferia no son categorías fijas y claramente definidas, sino que evolucionan con el tiempo y en consonancia con los nuevos modos de habitar la ciudad. Por una parte, los espacios urbanos cuentan con una inercia que hace que sean mayoritariamente percibidos como centrales. También existen otros lugares que son percibidos como periféricos por la herencia histórica. Las barriadas que aparecieron en las décadas de los Sesenta y los Setenta para acoger a los nuevos habitantes provenientes del éxodo rural, por ejemplo, suelen percibirse como barrios periféricos por el origen histórico de su formación. Sin embargo, tanto los espacios centrales como los periféricos se encuentran en un permanente proceso de resemantización que hace puedan variar su posicionamiento en el entorno urbano.

En el proceso de transformación de la concepción simbólica de los diferentes espacios urbanos interviene, por un lado, la agencia política local, compuesta principalmente por el Ayuntamiento o corporación municipal. El impulso de planes de remodelación urbana y de restauración, habilitar zonas verdes o decidir trasladar los escenarios centrales a los barrios son actos que pueden iniciar un cambio en la percepción de la ciudad. Por otro lado, también es importante considerar el valor de los procesos de construcción de tejido social desarrollado por los vecinos de las ciudades que logran también dotar de significado a nuevos espacios (Mitchell 1969), contribuyendo así a la emergencia de espacios

centrales en áreas periféricas, o a la confirmación de las tendencias marcadas por la agencia política. En este sentido, las estrategias de desarrollo de redes vecinales pueden entenderse también como agentes con poder para la transformación simbólica de la ciudad.

Dentro de la agencia que se reconoce a los vecinos, la heterogeneidad de este colectivo hace que los cambios en la ciudad sean más impredecibles y que por ello entren dentro de los intereses de la agenda política. Los inmigrantes presentan un caso muy interesante en el que se pone a prueba la capacidad de la propia ciudad para generar estrategias de desarrollo comunitario que la doten de cohesión interna, evitando guetos.

Por ello, las agendas políticas locales contemplan mecanismos específicos para promover la integración de estos nuevos habitantes, evitando así el riesgo de segregación urbana y la consiguiente exclusión social. El desarrollo de políticas y planes concretos depende en gran medida de las particularidades de cada ayuntamiento pero, en líneas generales, podemos valorar de que todas ellas se mueven bajo el paraguas del discurso de la interculturalidad, amparadas bajo una concepción extendida del cosmopolitismo como algo positivo (Hiernaux-Nicolas 2003). Esta visión se apoya en la idea de que las diferencias culturales pueden ser una fuente de riqueza para todo el colectivo social, siempre y cuando se respeten unos mínimos que garanticen la comunicación y la convivencia.

En la práctica se trata de promover la diferenciación cultural, al tiempo que se buscan espacios para la integración. La promoción de la diferencia cultural se apoya en la idea del respeto a las identidades diversas derivada del marco político actual. Un estado culturalmente neutro en términos legales debe permitir las prácticas culturales de los otros. Una vez que se adopta el punto de vista intercultural (Hidalgo Hernández 2005), la existencia de la diferencia es fuente de riqueza también para la propia población local. En consecuencia se procura fomentar la expresión de la diferencia cultural a la vez que se potencian de espacios para el intercambio entre los diferentes grupos.

Esta idea de interculturalidad, promovida desde las esferas políticas, tendrá también su influencia en las concepciones de las diferentes asociaciones que conforman la sociedad civil local, y las propias asociaciones de inmigrantes. Se apropiaran de la retórica oficial, dotando de nuevos significados a los conceptos que articulan la convivencia pública de la ciudad.

Analizaremos un ejemplo de este tipo de políticas, y la consiguiente reacción por parte del grupo al que van dirigidas, Valladolid y el colectivo de inmigrantes búlgaros. Esta ciudad, situada en Castilla y León, ha visto incrementado su padrón municipal por un numeroso grupo de inmigrantes a comienzos del siglo XXI. La reacción municipal fue la puesta en marcha de sucesivos Planes de Inmigración focalizados hacia la acogida e integración de los nuevos habitantes de la ciudad. En el año 2005 puso en marcha un proyecto innovador con la creación de un Centro de Atención a Inmigrantes (CAI). Desde este centro se coordina la estrategia de inclusión e integración e la población inmigrante en Valladolid, al

tiempo que se fomenta la implicación y participación de las asociaciones asentadas en el ámbito local, no directamente vinculadas con el Ayuntamiento.

La estrategia fundamental de la corporación municipal trata de extender el discurso de la interculturalidad mediante la promoción de la autonomía de los colectivos de inmigrantes y su participación en espacios y celebraciones comunes. Así, a lo largo del año se realizan varios eventos en los que las asociaciones de inmigrantes son invitadas a participar, entre los que destacan la celebración de la Semana Intercultural a finales de Septiembre. También se fomenta la actividad formativa de las diferentes asociaciones, así como su participación en otros eventos de la ciudad.

Además de habilitar estos espacios de participación como estrategias de desarrollo comunitario, se promueve también el empoderamiento de los inmigrantes habilitando diferentes recursos que mejoren su formación para aumentar sus posibilidades de inclusión en el mercado laboral. Esta formación es impartida a menudo por diversas entidades y ONG's locales, y principalmente ha consistido en cursos de competencia lingüística en español, capacitación básica para tareas relacionadas con el servicio doméstico y la construcción, o la mediación intercultural. Así pues, en cierta manera, podemos considerar que la propia estructura local compuesta por el CAI y las entidades de la ciudad moldean a los propios inmigrantes, hacia espacios del mercado laboral no necesariamente relacionados con su formación previa.

Además de este posicionamiento social y económico derivado de la formación que se les ofrece, las políticas locales de inmigración conllevan la extensión del discurso de la interculturalidad hasta los diferentes colectivos de inmigrantes que aprenderán a ampararse en esa retórica para mejorar sus posibilidades de integración y participación en el entorno urbano. De este modo, se observa como la praxis política está indisolublemente unida a la transmisión e ideologías.

El éxito o fracaso de estas política locales se verá, en gran medida, en el hecho de que los inmigrantes sean capaces de integrarse en el conjunto local, siendo ellos también dotadores de sentido a los diferentes espacios urbanos, teniendo agencia en la permanente tarea de redefinición de centro y periferia.

2. Interculturalidad: significados locales

La noción de interculturalidad (Degregori 1999), ampliamente difundida en el discurso político institucional de nuestro mundo contemporáneo, es incorporada por las diferentes asociaciones de inmigrantes en su praxis en la ciudad. En el caso de Valladolid, las asociaciones de inmigrantes compiten para obtener recursos en forma de subvenciones para poder organizar sus diferentes actos. Saber emplear correctamente la ideología de la interculturalidad hace que sus proyectos sean más exitosos y tengan más posibilidades de lograr financiación.

La idea de la interculturalidad está muy presente en el desarrollo de los pro-

yectos de las asociaciones de inmigrantes debido a la formación inicial recibida por el Ayuntamiento. Se organizaron muchos cursos de formación laboral para emigrantes entre los que destacó el de medidor intercultural, una especie de intérprete capaz de mediar por sus compatriotas ante las diferentes instituciones. En estos cursos se les enseñó a elaborar proyectos, en los que la interculturalidad se perfilaba como una estrategia de inclusión e integración de los colectivos de inmigrantes. Este concepto fue adquiriendo distintos significados en su uso por parte de los inmigrantes.

La comunidad búlgara ofrece un buen ejemplo de estos distintos significados de la interculturalidad. Son el colectivo de inmigrantes más numeroso que reside en Valladolid, y gozan de un alto grado de integración. Han desarrollado una vida asociativa bastante activa que les permite participar en el proceso de transformación del espacio social de la ciudad. En Valladolid existen cuatro asociaciones de ciudadanos búlgaros. Si bien es cierto que la mayoría de los ciudadanos de ese origen realizan su vida al margen de estas asociaciones, es bastante significativo el hecho de que existan cuatro diferentes, y que alguna de ellas se encuentre entre las asociaciones de inmigrantes más activas de la ciudad. Estas cuatro asociaciones surgen como respuesta a las iniciativas municipales que fomentan el asociacionismo como modo de gestión de la convivencia intercultural y participación en el espacio urbano.

La noción de interculturalidad promovida desde la corporación municipal puede analizarse en la celebración de la Semana Intercultural. Las diferentes asociaciones inmigrantes se encargan de preparar una muestra de su cultura regional, típicamente expresada en bailes, artesanía y trajes regionales. El Ayuntamiento dispone un lugar recientemente definido como céntrico, la Cúpula del Milenio, espacio donde se celebran otros muchos eventos relevantes en la vida cotidiana de la ciudad. Las diferentes asociaciones participan en esta Semana Intercultural tratando de mostrar a los habitantes de Valladolid su especificidad cultural. Esto implica que los inmigrantes deben exagerar sus particularidades culturales para poder encajar en la visión de interculturalidad que se impone como dominante.

Por otro lado, las propias asociaciones de inmigrantes hacen una apropiación de este concepto y juegan con él en dos niveles fundamentales: interno y externo. En el nivel externo, mantienen una comprensión similar a la promocionada por la praxis política, mostrando la parte más exótica o llamativa de su cultura. En el nivel interno, supone un proceso de toma de decisiones que lleva a cada grupo a determinar qué cultura o rasgos culturales concretos servirán como representación de su país. El hecho de que, como entendemos en antropología, el binomio nación-cultura haya sido sobradamente cuestionado parece no encontrar reflejo en la praxis política de la interculturalidad (Rex-Núñez 1998).

El caso de los búlgaros es un ejemplo muy claro de la ruptura entre nación y cultura. Bulgaria es un país que, al igual que el resto de países balcánicos, presenta una diversidad interna muy interesante en términos de etnias y religiones (Neuburger 2004; McIntyre 1988). Así, por ejemplo, podemos encontrar eslavos,

gitanos, turcos, turcobúlgaros, judíos sefarditas y un largo etcétera. En términos religiosos, la religión mayoritaria es la cristiana ortodoxa, si bien también hay colectivos importantes de musulmanes, judíos, cristianos católicos y ateos. Estos dos criterios de diferenciación tienen una gran influencia en las categorizaciones internas que hace la sociedad búlgara y conforma una gran diversidad de prácticas y grupos culturales.

Las cuatro asociaciones de búlgaros de Valladolid realizan un proceso interno previo de selección de unos rasgos sobre otros para poder encajar en el discurso multicultural que exige la celebración de esta semana, tratando de imponer una imagen sincrética de lo búlgaro que pueda ser comprendida por la población local. La participación en el programa de interculturalidad les exige, en primer lugar, ser capaces de limar sus diferencias internas y homogenizarlas hasta formar una expresión cultural más o menos unificada, y que aporte la diferencia que se busca desde la agencia política local.

En el nivel interno, los búlgaros tratan de incorporar, hasta cierto punto, parte de su diversidad característica. Así, es frecuente que refieran a la inclusión de bailes de diferentes regiones en sus exhibiciones, incorporando varios estilos de danza en sus espectáculos. Sin embargo, de facto, generan una imagen más homogénea de lo búlgaro, que resulta bastante útil en el proceso de la integración del colectivo. En la selección de rasgos a promocionar, se genera la imagen pública de una comunidad cristiana y eslava, lo que reduce las posibilidades de rechazo por parte de la población local al percibirles como similares a ellos (De-neva 2008).

Este doble sentido y uso de la noción de la interculturalidad ilustra la tensión inherente dentro de esta corriente teórica tan en boga hoy en día, la necesidad de domesticar la diversidad cultural hasta hacerla comprensible y asequible por parte del grupo social más amplio, al tiempo que se apoya en la defensa teórica el derecho a la diferencia cultural. Por un lado, se impone una homogeneización interna de cada grupo para, al mismo tiempo, exagerar las diferencias culturales entre los diferentes grupos con el fin de poder seguir manteniendo la ilusión de la diferencia cultural enriquecedora a nivel local. Una diferencia cultural, eso sí, creada y manipulada para garantizar su correcto encaje en el proceso de integración.

Al mismo tiempo, las asociaciones de inmigrantes, al participar en este tipo de juego, desempeñan un papel fundamental en la definición de su propio grupo. De este modo, adquieren una mayor relevancia en el nivel local para el colectivo de inmigrantes y para la población autóctona, ofreciendo una imagen del grupo que favorezca la integración en la ciudad.

3. La función de integración de las asociaciones de inmigrantes

La aparición de asociaciones entre la población inmigrante puede ser entendido como una reacción normal a la política impulsada desde el Ayuntamiento.

to. La propia organización de la sociedad civil local se desarrolla también con frecuencia en torno a diferentes asociaciones que organizan las actividades y la vida de los barrios. Las asociaciones de búlgaros reflejan la interiorización de los modos de funcionar de la sociedad local, al tiempo que mantienen una connotación simbólica vinculada con su comunidad de origen.

Las asociaciones de búlgaros en Valladolid tienen por objetivo la promoción de la cultura búlgara y, en este sentido, se consideran herederas de los *chatilishte*, asociaciones culturales que surgieron en el siglo XIX al margen de los poderes estatales y en dónde se fraguó gran parte del espíritu revolucionario que llevó a la emancipación de Bulgaria del Imperio Otomano (Hupchick 1993). Frecuentemente hemos visto cómo apelan a esta figura de su historia nacional para indicar la vinculación con su labor presente que consiste en mantener viva la cultura patria en tierra ajena. De esta manera se observa cómo al formar asociaciones, los búlgaros satisfacen la lógica local de integración de los inmigrantes, al tiempo que se consolidan como grupo.

Las asociaciones de inmigrantes, pues, se convierten así en actores sociales fundamentales en el proceso de integración y resemantización del espacio social de la ciudad. Son una realidad compleja, con múltiples significaciones y desempeñan una serie de funciones fundamentales en la construcción de la ciudad y en la integración del grupo de inmigrantes al que representan.

En primer lugar, las asociaciones de inmigrantes han jugado un papel fundamental en las pautas de asentamiento de la comunidad en la nueva ciudad. Ofrecen información relevante sobre las condiciones de vida en un entorno urbano determinado, funcionando como atractores de más población inmigrante. La transformación de los sistemas de migración gracias al acceso a las nuevas tecnologías hace que sirvan potencialmente de punto de anclaje a personas que carecen de una red de parientes en el lugar de destino (Thouez 2003).

En segundo lugar hay que destacar su papel en la lucha por los recursos económicos. El Ayuntamiento de Valladolid oferta anualmente una serie de ayudas para la realización de proyectos que impulsen la actividad de las asociaciones de inmigrantes en la ciudad con el fin de mejorar su integración. En el caso de las asociaciones de búlgaros, además de optar a estas subvenciones, han desarrollado una interesante labor, presentando proyectos en los que compiten por la financiación con las asociaciones que, en su origen, les prestaron ayuda a ellos. Una vez que han asumido el rol de ser asociaciones de ayuda a los inmigrantes en general, su lucha por los recursos en el terreno local ha transformado el mapa de relaciones, cambiando sensiblemente su posición.

Además, en el caso de las asociaciones de búlgaros, optan a numerosos fondos de los programas de la embajada de Bulgaria destinados al mantenimiento de la cultura y lengua búlgara entre la segunda generación. De este modo, las asociaciones de búlgaros han aprendido a gestionar este doble principio; por un lado, se ofrecen como asociaciones de inmigrantes de ayuda en general para poder competir en igualdad de condiciones en el terreno local. Por otro lado, es

necesario que exploten su particularidad lingüística para poder mantener las líneas de financiación de su país. La exitosa gestión de estas dos tendencias está íntimamente relacionada con el éxito en su proceso de integración.

En tercer lugar, las asociaciones de inmigrantes desempeñan un papel muy importante como portavoces de la comunidad ante las autoridades locales y la propia sociedad civil. Con independencia de que sean muchos o pocos los inmigrantes asociados, las asociaciones, una vez constituidas, son incluidas en diversos foros a nivel local, de tal manera que ostentan el poder de mostrar al resto en qué consiste su grupo representado. En el caso de los búlgaros, esto supone la supresión de las divergencias internas para promover una imagen más homogénea y que encaja mejor en con la comunidad local, apoyada principalmente en la etnicidad eslava y la religión cristiana. Esta promoción de una imagen de lo búlgaro tiene también su influencia sobre el colectivo representado ya que ofrece una imagen que da forma a la comunidad imaginada (Anderson 2006) en la que se constituye el grupo de inmigrantes.

En cuarto lugar, las asociaciones tienen mucho peso en el empoderamiento progresivo del grupo de inmigrantes. Una vez constituidos como asociación, tienen la posibilidad de ser reconocidos por el resto de las entidades locales como interlocutores, traspasando así las fronteras del papel de receptor de servicios que tuvieron en su origen. En el caso de las asociaciones de búlgaros vemos cómo el hecho de que hayan empezado a competir por los mismos recursos que otras entidades de ayuda al inmigrante supone, de facto, el empoderamiento de la asociación y, por extensión, del resto del grupo. Esto ha cambiado totalmente la posición que ocupan en el entramado urbano ya que han pasado de meros receptores de políticas sociales a ser ellos mismos los que desarrollan algún tipo de programa o actividad de ayuda. Siguiendo la lógica maussiana del Don (Mauss 2002), se sitúan en una posición de ventaja sobre aquellos a los que prestan ayuda, mejorando así su posición en el todo social.

Estas cuatro funciones principales se desarrollan siempre en el marco de las estrategias de integración que desarrolla tanto la población local con el Ayuntamiento a la cabeza, como las propias asociaciones de inmigrantes. De esta manera se observa cómo el modo en el que se ha planteado la política local en materia de migraciones condiciona el proceso de integración. Además, condiciona la organización de los propios inmigrantes que se agrupan en asociaciones para poder participar de la esfera política de la ciudad.

El caso de las asociaciones de inmigrantes búlgaros asentados en Valladolid ilustra cómo estas asociaciones potencian la definición y trazado de un grupo con una identidad cultural homogénea. Esta identidad se muestra eficaz en el proceso de integración pero, al mismo tiempo, conlleva el riesgo de segregación ya que una exageración excesiva de la diferencia y del particularismo por parte de un grupo lo separaría del todo que es la ciudad. La integración se construye, pues, de forma dialéctica junto con la segregación, en una interacción permanente entre los grupos de inmigrantes y la población local que encuentra una

representación claramente observable en las interacciones entre las diferentes asociaciones.

4. Redefiniendo la ciudad

El espacio urbano se transforma en espacio vivido mediante la participación de los habitantes de una ciudad y las directrices establecidas por la agenda política. Uno de los lugares en los que mejor se ve el proceso de transformación y apropiación del espacio urbano en términos simbólicos es el ritual (Rappaport 1999; Turner 1967). La celebración de diferentes rituales en el entorno urbano permite analizar no sólo los procesos de redefinición de centro y periferia, sino también la posición de los diferentes actores sociales, así como la integración mediante la participación de los diferentes colectivos sociales.

Anteriormente hemos mencionado la celebración de la Semana Intercultural organizada por el Ayuntamiento de Valladolid. Si la analizamos como un ritual urbano, podemos ver cómo emerge un actor social hegemónico, el Ayuntamiento, que invita a los demás actores sociales, las asociaciones de inmigrantes. La participación en esta Semana Intercultural permite a los diferentes colectivos ganar visibilidad en el contexto de la ciudad, al tiempo que aumenta los lazos sociales que se transforman en capital social (Portes 1998; Bourdieu 1989) relevante para el proceso de integración.

Nuestros informantes búlgaros señalan como para ellos es importante poder participar en esta fiesta porque es una forma de que la gente conozca lo que ellos están haciendo. A pesar de que los búlgaros constituyen el colectivo de inmigrantes más numeroso en la ciudad, existe un desconocimiento generalizado respecto a su cultura y ellos ven en la celebración de esta fiesta una ocasión importante en la que poder mostrar a la población en general, y al resto de asociaciones de inmigrantes, que ellos también poseen una cultura popular bastante rica y variada, digna de ser conocida. Además, señalan la importancia de participar, puesto que han sido invitados por el Ayuntamiento y sería muy descortés no ir.

En los últimos dos años, la celebración de esta fiesta ha cambiado de escenario. Antes se celebraba en la céntrica Plaza de España, pero desde hace dos años se trasladó a un espacio en un barrio en proceso de renovación conocido como la Cúpula del Milenio. Esto responde a la planificación urbana del propio Ayuntamiento que está tratando de mejorar la percepción social de ese barrio, convirtiéndolo en un lugar central. Por ello trata de llevar muchos eventos a este lugar, entre los que se encuentra la celebración de la Semana Intercultural. De este modo, observamos como la propia agencia política local reconoce ese potencial transformador del ritual.

Sin embargo, esta conversión en centro de un lugar hasta ahora periférico no ha gozado de muy buena acogida entre la propia población. El gremio de

libreros se ha mostrado contrario a la medida municipal de trasladar aquí la Feria del Libro por considerarlo un lugar menos céntrico. También los búlgaros han manifestado su descontento por el traslado de la Semana Intercultural a este lugar porque les resta visibilidad en el contexto local.

Otro aspecto importante de la participación en la Semana Intercultural es la posibilidad de establecer y fortalecer lazos sociales con otras asociaciones de inmigrantes, convirtiéndose así en una fuente de capital social que valoran bastante, los búlgaros han reconducido sus asociaciones hacia la satisfacción de un doble objetivo: representar sus particularidades culturales al tiempo que se ofrecen como de ayuda al inmigrante en general. Así, establecer alianzas con otras asociaciones se torna fundamental para lograr el éxito y la credibilidad de sus proyectos.

La participación en la Semana Intercultural nos muestra la relevancia del ritual como un proceso en el que se redefine la propia ciudad y en el que se fomenta la participación de los inmigrantes. Esta participación visibiliza al colectivo en el terreno local y aumenta su capital social, al tiempo que contribuyen, junto al resto de la sociedad civil, en los procesos de redefinición de centro y periferia.

Otro ritual que resulta interesante analizar es la fiesta de la Martenitza (Borisova 2012), celebración que tiene lugar el 1 de marzo y que tiene por objetivo anticipar la llegada de la primavera, junto con la celebración del 3 de marzo, día de la independencia de Bulgaria del Imperio Otomano. La celebración de estas dos fiestas se suele hacer de forma conjunta, y se elabora un guión ritual de manera muy cuidadosa. En primer lugar, se crea un acto público al que se invita tanto a las autoridades locales, como a los representantes de otras asociaciones de la ciudad y a los vecinos de Valladolid. Después, se realiza una muestra de bailes tradicionales, lecturas de poesía, y se explica la historia del país para que la población local pueda comprender mejor la realidad de Bulgaria.

Por un lado esto supone el fortalecimiento de la comunidad, puesto que en el ritual se expresan y exteriorizan las nociones de identidad del grupo. El ritual impone una imagen de Bulgaria al propio grupo, favoreciendo así su vinculación con la comunidad imaginada que por unos momentos adquiere una realidad tangible en la celebración del propio ritual.

Por otro lado, les posiciona como anfitriones de las autoridades locales invitadas a su fiesta. Supone, pues, una fuente de poder social ya que transforma su posición dentro del conjunto urbano. En la celebración de la Martenitza existe la costumbre de regalar a los seres queridos una pulsera blanca y roja que hay que llevar puesta hasta la llegada de la primavera. Las asociaciones de búlgaros preparan pulseras especiales para regalar a las autoridades locales, así como a los representantes más destacados de las asociaciones más relevantes de la ciudad. De este modo, vemos cómo mediante la celebración del ritual se convierten en donantes y anfitriones, en lugar de ser invitados y receptores como sucede de forma más habitual. El ritual tiene, pues, la capacidad de subvertir los roles de los actores sociales.

La celebración de rituales urbanos se convierte en un punto interesante de análisis de los significados de los entramados urbanos. Permite observar los procesos de redefinición de las posiciones y relaciones de los diferentes actores sociales. La participación de los inmigrantes en este tipo de rituales supone una inclusión en la vida activa de la ciudad. Por un lado, los rituales organizados por el Ayuntamiento se convierten en una estrategia de desarrollo local eficaz capaz de incorporar a los nuevos habitantes de la ciudad a los procesos políticos y sociales locales. Por otro lado, la celebración de rituales por parte de los colectivos emigrantes puede ser entendida como una respuesta y manifestación de su voluntad de participación en el proceso de redefinición constante de la ciudad.

5. Reflexiones finales

El caso que hemos presentado nos permite analizar cómo la ciudad ha evolucionado ganando en complejidad social a medida que ha ido incorporando nuevos pobladores. La aparición de los inmigrantes en el panorama urbano ha hecho necesario que se impulsaran una serie de estrategias de desarrollo comunitario para garantizar su inclusión y participación en la sociedad.

Estas estrategias se plasman en una política local concreta que potencia la aparición de asociaciones de inmigrantes. De esta manera, la organización de la migración adopta formas similares a las que tiene la sociedad civil de la ciudad, haciendo más sencilla su participación. La aparición de estas asociaciones de inmigrantes conlleva la adopción del discurso de la interculturalidad, promovido desde los agentes políticos locales.

La interculturalidad se convierte en una idea que opera con fuerza en el proceso de integración de los nuevos pobladores, trabajando en dos sentidos diferentes: por un lado, supone acentuar la diferencia cultural para encajar en el panorama multicultural exigido y promovido desde el Ayuntamiento. Por otro lado, en un nivel interno, supone la homogeneización del grupo para poder ofrecer una visión unitaria de ellos. Este doble juego derivado de la adopción de la idea de la interculturalidad se convierte en esencial en el proceso de integración.

La creación de asociaciones, además, aumenta la capacidad de participación de los inmigrantes en el terreno local. En primer lugar, participar de manera activa en las actividades organizadas por la corporación municipal, y desarrollar así una red de relaciones útiles en términos de capital social. En segundo lugar, les permite desarrollar sus propias actividades en las que invierten la lógica habitual y se convierten ellos mismos en los anfitriones con capacidad para invitar al resto de colectivos. De esa manera se logra una reciprocidad mediante la puesta en marcha del ritual.

La participación de los inmigrantes en las asociaciones favorece su integración activa en la ciudad, al tiempo que posibilita su participación, junto con el resto de ciudadanos, en el proceso de redefinición constante entre centro y peri-

feria. Así, las estrategias de desarrollo llevadas a cabo por la ciudad logran que los nuevos pobladores se integren en el proceso de construcción de la ciudad. De este modo, la participación de los inmigrantes en el entorno local se convierte en el hecho fundamental para lograr espacios inclusivos y capaces de aprovechar el potencial que ofrecen las modernas sociedades interculturales.

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The Balkans Retold. Myths, heroes and history in the Bulgarian Consciousness.

En este texto se analiza el proceso de creación de la identidad colectiva a partir de la comprensión y gestión de los diferentes procesos históricos. Bulgaria, como un número significativo de los países de los Balcanes, presenta una interesante mezcla cultural fruto de su devenir histórico. Segregada del Imperio Bizantino y fuertemente eslavizada, estuvo durante cinco siglos incorporada al Imperio Otomano.

Su proceso de independencia política que tuvo lugar durante el siglo XIX fue, al mismo tiempo, un proceso de gestión y creación de unas raíces comunes. Lengua, origen étnico y religión se convirtieron en los pilares fundamentales que articularon esta noción de identidad. Así, Bulgaria se imaginó a sí misma como una comunidad al estilo de Anderson, unida por unos lazos fuertes propios del sentir nacionalista del siglo XIX.

Esto supuso silenciar la diversidad existente, haciendo que la religión ortodoxa sea la preferida, la etnia eslava sea la hegemónica, y el uso del idioma búlgaro con el alfabeto cirílico vaya más allá de la mera utilidad. Estos elementos se estuvieron muy entrelazados durante el siglo XIX, tal y como se explica en este artículo, dando forma a una identidad nacional.

Esta identidad nacional continúa en un constante proceso de replanteamiento. Esto se hace especialmente relevante en el contexto de las migraciones. El caso de estudio que ocupa esta tesis muestra el modo en el que el patrimonio inmaterial que subyace a esta identidad es hábilmente manipulado para mejorar así sus posibilidades de integración. Los paralelismos entre el proceso de etnogénesis de Bulgaria y de España ayudan a que la población pueda integrarse con más facilidad.



TRENDS IN SLAVIC STUDIES

Quero Gervilla, E. F.
Barros García, B.
Kopylova, T. R.
(red.)



URSS



Истрин В.А.
1100 лет славянской азбуки

Вниманию читателей предлагается работа известного книговеда и филолога В.А.Истрина, написанная им к 1100-летию юбилею славянской письменности и впервые вышедшая в 1963 г. Книга знакомит читателя с полной драматических событий историей жизни и деятельности создателей славянской азбуки, великих славянских просветителей братьев Константина Философа (Кирилла) и Мефодия. Наряду с этим дается сравнительная характеристика и прослеживается последующая судьба двух древнейших славянских азбук — кириллицы и глаголицы, рассматриваются пока еще не решенные наукой до конца вопросы о докирилловской славянской письменности.

Книга рекомендуется филологам-славистам, историкам языка, а также всем, кто интересуется историей становления славянской письменности.



Папина А.Ф.
Происхождение славянской письменности

В книге повествуется об истории и культуре славянского мира, о генетических связях славян с индоевропейскими народами и их языками, о гипотетической общей прародине.

Центральной частью книги является рассказ о создании в 863 г. церковного старославянского языка и азбуки святыми равноапостольными братьями Кириллом и Мефодием. В этом разделе содержатся сведения о принятии славянами христианства и о той просветительской и объединяющей роли, которую сыграло для ряда славянских народов и их литературных языков включение в ареал *Slavia Orthodoxa*.

Курс, изложенный в пособии, состоит из введения и трех частей (семи разделов). Часть первая — история происхождения старославянского языка и его азбук; основные старославянские памятники; лексика. Часть вторая — фонетика, морфология, синтаксис старославянского языка. Часть третья — словарь, таблицы склонений и спряжений, сборник упражнений, список литературы.



Толстой Н.И.
Славянская географическая терминология: Семасиологические этюды

Интерес к славянской географической терминологии возник давно, почти одновременно с первыми попытками установления и осмысления родственных связей различных славянских "наречий". Настоящая книга является одним из результатов Полесской лингвистической экспедиции (1962–1965). Материал для сравнения привлекался по принципу общности полесских и других славянских лексем или тождественности семантических сдвигов, наблюдаемых уже на примере иных лексем. Особое внимание в книге уделено диалектной лексике.

Второе издание дополнено рядом близких по тематике статей, написанных Н.И.Толстым позднее и опубликованных в разных сборниках.

Материал настоящей книги может послужить источником для топонимических исследований и решения различных этимологических проблем, а также должен привлечь внимание географов и работников краеведческих музеев.

TRENDS IN SLAVIC STUDIES



URSS
MOCKBA

Trends in Slavic Studies / Ред. Э. Ф. Керо Хервилья, Б. Баррос Гарсия, Т. Р. Копылова. — М.: КРАСАНД, 2015. — 1062 с.

Данный сборник статей представляет собой коллекцию научных трудов, принадлежащих к области славистики и отражающих современный взгляд на исследование славянской филологии в мировой науке. Первостепенной задачей данного сборника является укрепление и продвижение славистики как научной дисциплины XXI века. Сборник посвящен актуальным проблемам: изучение славянских языков, литератур и методики их преподавания, особенности перевода, политические и институциональные отношения, дискурс СМИ, история и культура славян, что и обусловило структуру сборника.


Сборник адресован как специалистам, студентам, так и всем, кто интересуется славянским миром, и может расцениваться как источник справочной информации по проблемам современной славистики.

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The Balkans Retold. Myths, Heroes and History in Bulgarian Consciousness

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This paper sets out to analyze how different national myths and heroes are understood and used in Bulgaria's modern context, while also highlighting the relevance of the management of this historical consciousness within the migration process among the Bulgarian community settled in Spain. Migrant Associations provide a wide range of examples of how history is used to shape their groups, while they are actively contributing to the emergence of what can be defined as an "imagined community", linking migrants dispersed around the world to their country of origin. This paper will explore the most relevant historical events and key figures, including: the invention of the Cyrillic alphabet, the independence of Bulgaria from the Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria's relationship with the Soviet Union and Russia, its integration into the European Union, as well as remarkable figures such as Vasil Levski and Hristo Botev. All of these historical events and figures are transformed into myths and heroes through the Bulgarians' use of them. This process acquires particular relevance in a migration context, where it reinforces national consciousness among migrants.

Key words: Bulgaria, history management, migration, myths, integration.

Introduction

This paper aims to demonstrate how the interpretation of history is relevant in shaping modern identity discourses within the notion of an imagined community (Anderson) behind the nation. Bulgaria provides a good example of this identity making process, and it provides the basis to understand many other national construction processes in the Balkans and across Europe.

The parts of history that are silenced are to be considered as relevant as those that are stressed in Bulgarian consciousness, in particular after the restoration of the nation in the XIX century. Identity is primarily based on religion and language, and the management of history and of these two elements is an on-going process rather than a completed and static situation¹.

This identity making is relevant not only within Bulgarian borders, but also abroad among Bulgarian migrants settled in other countries. The case of Bulgarian migrants in Spain shows how efficient identity management can be in terms of integration, as Spanish identity is also based on religion.

People, kingdoms and empires in the making of a nation

Since antiquity the Balkans have been a crossroads of many different peoples and tribes. Many different populations have settled in the peninsula and many different kingdoms have emerged and subsequently disappeared as the centuries passed. Because of its location at the doors of Asia, an array of different empires have attempted to conquer the area, and each of those civilizations has left its own footprint, coming to form the main elements in the gradual emergence of new cultures and new identity discourses.

In this context, Bulgaria is not an exception. The area prospered under the reign of the Thracians, one of Ancient History's most impressive populations (Hoddinot, 1975). Their legacy can still be seen in the many ruins and golden treasures that have been excavated

¹ This paper focuses on the interpretation of history rather than on history itself.

and recovered. Starting from the VII century BC, the Greek founded many towns in the area that now comprises Bulgaria. The new cities in proximity of the Black Sea acquired particular relevance due to the extensive trade developed by the Greeks. During this period, the Thracians continued to rule over the country's central area, enjoying the prosperity brought by trade agreements with the Greeks and other populations in the area. In the I century BC the area was incorporated into the Roman Empire as the Thracian Province, and subsequently integrated into the emerging Byzantine Empire.

As Rome fell and lost its power in the area, some of the so-called "barbarian populations" started to wander into the area, and some amongst them settled, such as the Goths, Slavs, and the Protobulgarians. These populations often attacked the Byzantine cities and looted them, and they gradually increased in numbers and in power. In 632 the First Bulgarian Empire was established by a combined group of Slavs and Protobulgarians (Lang, 1986). This Empire expanded to incorporate territories from other Balkan countries such as Greece, Romania, Serbia, Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Montenegro. The Bulgarian rule extended between the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea and the Jonick Sea, and was thus referred to as the Three Sea Empire, in addition to being called the Golden Age of Bulgarian medieval history. This empire waged war numerous times against the Byzantine Empire, and even laid siege to Constantinople.

One of the most outstanding figures in the creation of Bulgarian consciousness is Tsar Boris I, who faced the challenge of modernizing the nation. Bulgaria existed as a country, but it lacked a national consciousness, due to the absence of a common descent identity and a common language. In this period, the population belonged to two main ethnic groups: the Protobulgarians and the newly arrived Slavs. Boris found in religion a useful tool for the social unification of the country's inhabitants. Adopting Christianity as the kingdom's official religion allowed him to create the required sense of community to succeed in creating the nation, and after some attempts to negotiate between the Catholics and the Orthodox, he joined the Orthodox Church, under the Rule of Byzantium, thus placing Bulgaria in Eastern Europe.

This religious conversion is strongly linked to the linguistic unification of the area, a further necessary step towards national identity. In the IX century, Moravia requested Byzantium to provide a priest who could preach in Slavonic, since the population struggled to understand Greek liturgy (Iliev, 2013). St. Cyril and St. Methodium were sent in response to this request, and they proceeded to translate some of the most relevant lessons from Byzantine culture into Slavonic. St. Cyril, St. Methodium and their disciples were involved in the creation of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets, the first attempts to provide the Slavonic language with an alphabet. They were subsequently expelled from Moravia, and found a secure place to stay in Christianized Bulgaria, thanks to the protection of Boris I, and his son, Simeon I.

Bulgarian rulers took advantage of the newly created alphabet, promoting its diffusion. The work of St. Clement Ochrid, and many other monks, became particularly relevant in spreading Slavonic liturgy among the Bulgarian Empire's inhabitants. In doing so, both religious and linguistic unification came to be, shaping the sense of community required for national consciousness. Bulgaria succeeded in founding its own autocephalous Church in 870, and Slavonic worship was helpful in maintaining independence from Byzantium. Liturgy was a way to demonstrate independence while reinforcing the Slavonic group over

the Protobulgarians. Although the language was referred to as Bulgarian, Slavonic writing triumphed in these years. Since then, both language and religion have been at the core of the national identity construction process.

Several battles and wars against Byzantium brought the First Bulgarian Empire to an end, and the start of the Bulgarian Empire in 1018. However, Bulgarians claim an independent country was already alive. From the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Empire, in 1185, the territory suffered ongoing wars and insurrections and the Bulgarians rapidly recovered the territories lost by the First Bulgarian Empire, extending their borders in the Balkan Peninsula. During this Second Empire, war against Byzantium was constant. In the XIII century, the foundation of the Serbian Empire cut off a large section of the Bulgarian Empire and their power in the Balkans gradually diminished. In the north, the Mongol arrived to the Danube and in the south, the pressure of the Ottoman Empire increased until they conquered the Balkans, putting an end to Bulgarian independence at the close of the XIV century.

Bulgaria remained under the Ottoman Rule for five centuries. Not only did Bulgaria lose its independence as a country, its Church lost its status as autocephalous, and was considered a mere exarchate under the Patriarch of Constantinople. Liturgy was celebrated in Ancient Greek, hence the use of Bulgarian became rarer. In spite of the Church's new official language being Ancient Greek, most monasteries in the area continued writing in Bulgarian, becoming the key in the XIX century's language renaissance. In the war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans achieved independence. In the last two decades of the XIX century Bulgaria recovered an independent status within the Ottoman Empire. In 1878, the Bulgarian Kingdom was restored, achieving international recognition in 1908.

This process is quite similar to those occurred in many other southern European countries, where Muslim powers had ruled for long periods of time. The latter are usually perceived as foreign dominations, using the term "restoration" when Christianity is re-established following long periods of wars and battles. This restoration process was not only a matter of wars and military strategies, but an ideological process of national identity construction, leading to the independence of many countries during the XIX century.

The beginning of history: the making of the nation

The XIX century is an interesting period in European history because of the emergence of many nations. The idea of nationalism spread across the whole continent, and national identities gained a relevant position in popular consciousness, shaping national aspirations. One of the most relevant facts, in particular regarding Eastern Europe, is the triumph of the Russian Empire over the Ottoman Empire. This military triumph helped the Balkan Peninsula's independence process, and nationalist ideology helped former previous countries and kingdoms.

It is possible to analyze the Bulgarian Independence process in the light of this context (Crampton, 2007) (Nikoloff, 1987): firstly, the idea of restoration relates to the existence of a previous country which must be reestablished as a matter of natural justice. During the XIX century, the idea of Bulgaria's liberation from the Ottoman Empire's "yoke" was deeply rooted among the Bulgarian population. In order to achieve this goal of liberation, it was necessary to promote the idea of a common past, which led to the reinforcement of the sense of belonging to a national community, separate from the Ottoman Empire. Historians

turned to the medieval period, appealing to the Bulgarian Empires to justify the existence of a Bulgarian country previous to Ottoman Rule. The notion of an imagined community (Anderson, 2006) becomes particularly relevant in understanding this ideological process, which presented the Bulgarian nation as a natural fact, opposed to the Ottoman Empire, perceived as the artificial (Stojanovski, S., Ananiev, 2012). This concept was typical amongst all emergent European nations at the time. However, it was also necessary to readjust the ideal of the Bulgarian Empire. Over the centuries the Balkans had undergone many changes, and independence also led to the Serbian Kingdom's restoration, making the Bulgarian Empire's former borders unachievable. Hence, following liberation the Balkans appeared as a complex of different kingdoms, under the pressure of the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian Empires in the north and west, and the Ottoman Empire in the south. It was a coveted territory by these powers who wanted to expand their influence.

To understand this renewed national consciousness, it is necessary to newly take into consideration language and religion (Hupchick, 1993). Under the Ottoman Empire, the Bulgarian Church had lost its autocephalous status, becoming an Exarchate under the Patriarch of Constantinople. Liturgy was established in Greek, meanwhile Bulgarian lost its place in society, replaced by Greek and Turkish in the religious and political arena. Hence, it was necessary to recover the language that would express the Empire and the Patriarch's independence. And again, the role of religion was particularly relevant (Leustean, 2008), many monasteries continued using Bulgarian to worship, and they became the centers for the country's enlightenment, restoring Bulgarian as the nation's language. The clergy played a leading role in this process, acting as missionaries in their own country. Figures such as Sophronius of Vratsa are crucial, not only because of his contribution to Bulgarian literature and the restoration of Bulgarian liturgy, but also because of his role in communicating with Russia during the Russo-Turkish war.

During the XIX century, other institutions took an important role in increasing literacy among the population. These cultural associations were called "chatilishte", and emerged in villages, entirely independently from the state, becoming relevant social actors in terms of community making and in the making of the nation. They taught Bulgarian and Bulgarian traditions. The majority of "Bulgarian traditions" had almost disappeared during the five centuries of Ottoman dominance. As was the case in many European countries, the XIX century was the century in which tradition was invented in Bulgaria (Hobsbawm, T., Ranger, 1983) in order to promote the idea of an own folklore, thus supporting the idea of an own community behind the emerging nation. Chatilishte became important places of diffusion for the newly created Bulgarian culture and language, while also acting as key information points during the battles and the liberation process.

The liberation process was marked by the emergence of some outstanding figures who became the new heroes of national consciousness. Vasil Levski, with his war cry "Freedom or death", was one of the most famous and prominent characters during the first years of battles. It is important to mention the relevance acquired, not only by the military, but also by the writers who spread these new ideas into Bulgarian. Hristo Botev, writer and revolutionary, was one of the most important heroes of the liberation aside Vasil Levski, and Ivan Vasov who wrote one of the most relevant novels of the time, *Under the Yoke*, and is considered the patriarch of modern Bulgarian literature, shaping the painful way in which Bulgaria suffered domination under the Ottoman Empire.

These new heroes became the most prominent figures in the new national consciousness. The new Bulgaria was reborn under the idea of liberation: the aim of freedom, the spirit of uniqueness, of being something different from the Ottoman Empire, as well from other countries. A nation which had succeeded in shaping its own country. This process was regarded as a legitimate movement of history, a natural evolution of the political events which had led to emancipation of the Bulgarian population.

However, after such a long Ottoman rule, this process was not as natural and easy as it may seem. The restoration of the Bulgarian language itself was not easy to achieve. This language had been almost entirely forgotten by the majority of the population. It also lacked words to describe much of the contemporary world, and hence, it was necessary to import terms from other languages (Aretov, 2001). The main powers who had settled in the Balkans were the Austro Hungarian Empire, and the Russian Empire and consequently the Bulgarian language was enriched with imported words from Russian due to proximity, and due to the fact that Russia had the strongest influence in the area. The making of the Bulgarian nation was a fragile process in which a strong community spirit tried to find a place between the many nations surrounding them.

The restoration of the Bulgarian Kingdom itself reveals the political tension in the area. The election of a German king, instead of the candidate proposed by Russia, aimed to promote the country's freedom, against the fear of falling under the Russian Empire's aspirations in the Balkans. Liberated Bulgaria had to deal with the fact that, even though they considered themselves as the oldest nation in Europe, they were recently reborn, and for this reason they were a young nation. They needed to reinforce their national identity, while showing other countries that Bulgaria existed again, ready to be an active participant in the modern world.

During the XX century, Bulgaria partook in Europe's most relevant historical events. Being defeated in both World Wars led its borders to being further diminished, shaping the current territorial borders. Following the Second World War, Bulgaria exiled the royal family, becoming a Republic and eventually entered under the Soviet influence during the period known as Socialism. During this period, the construction of a national consciousness continued, stressing cultural and ethnic ties with Russia. Hence, history was retold in order to outline the relevance of Slavic populations in the shaping of the nation. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 placed Bulgaria in the position of having to newly reinterpret its own history and identity, trying to find a place in the context of the modern world.

The last decade of the XX century and the first years of the XXI were characterized by the efforts made by Bulgaria to adapt its political and legal frame to be able to join the European Union. At the same time, it was also necessary to maintain a nation making process that engaged the population, although this identity discourse had to evolve into something open enough to be potentially shared in a European context. In this period, national consciousness was shaped by the country's historical past, focused not on its Slavic roots but on Protobulgarian populations, to demonstrate its independence from Russia (Nikolov, 2011). Bulgaria was, besides Romania, one of the first Balkan countries to join the European Union. Nowadays, the management of history, in order to shape a national consciousness, still remains a relevant fact in the making of the Bulgarian nation.

We, the Bulgarians. Otherness management at home

After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria had to face a different situation than the one it faced during the restoration. In the Middle Ages, the ethnic differences were mainly between the Protobulgarians and the Slavs. However, in the XIX century, the situation was significantly more complex. New ethnic groups had settled in the area and it was necessary to find a way for the different groups to live together (Mc. INTYRE, R., 1988, Neuburger, 2004). The largest ethnic groups were the Bulgarians, the Turkish-Bulgarians and the Roma. From a religious point of view, the situation was far from the Christian unity shaped during both Bulgarian Empires: besides the Orthodox, there were Muslims and Evangelists. This situation is relevant in terms of the national building process.

How to manage the coexistence of various ethnic groups is a difficult question which has had different answers since liberation. For example, Turkish Bulgarians have moved from exclusion to recognition within the Bulgarian state. It is difficult to trace a straight line of progress since in the past two centuries they have been repeatedly integrated and excluded from society. In the last decade of "Socialism" in Bulgaria, Turkish Bulgarians were forced to change their names to Bulgarian ones, and it was strictly forbidden to use Turkish in public. On the other hand, democracy recognized this group, even allowing them to use their language at school, and political parties defending the Turkish Bulgarians' interests in National Parliament have emerged. It is interesting to remark that this political and social progress in recognizing otherness within Bulgaria's own borders has no big influence in identity discourses promoted by the country. Diversity does not play a role in the nation making process.

Even before liberation, it was necessary to promote an identity discourse which made it possible to support the notion of belonging to a shared community (Kitromilides, 1989). This imagined community is essential in the nation making process because it enables the appeal to shared roots, and the defense of a preexistent entity, perceived as natural, in opposition to the Ottoman Empire, perceived as artificial. This imagined community was shaped looking into an idealized past, a biased view of history is commonly observed in the making of different nations. In the case of Bulgaria, as in many other countries in the Balkan peninsula, the five centuries spent under the dominion of the Ottoman Empire are banned from official discourse, referred only to as a period of submission. They claim that the Golden Age of Bulgaria was under their own rule, hence, both Bulgarian empires act as a way to legitimize the country's independence, as well as supporting and shaping national identity.

However, this fact is quite controversial because of the Balkan's different political configurations. Tsar Simeon's former borders are now occupied by different countries, and Bulgaria does not aspire to gain back these territories. This Golden Age serves as referent to prove that the Bulgarian population is great, with a glorious historical past, and it reinforces the idea of an imagined community which Bulgarians can be proud of.

The Medieval period is also relevant in terms of identity shaping because of two main facts: the invention of both the Bulgarian language, and the National Bulgarian Church. Religion and language were the two main tools used to shape the Bulgarian nation in the medieval period, and have been used subsequently during liberation and up to present times to shape the imagined community against the background of the national making process, in spite the current population not being as strictly religious as in the times before Socialism.

Although Bulgaria is supposed to be a neutral state from a legal point of view, Orthodox Christians are still the preferred religious group, considered to be the core of national identity. Even people who consider themselves not religious, or who profess other religions, celebrate the national festivities which are mostly related with Orthodox religion.

In this sense, the National Museum of Bulgarian History in Sofia can be considered an embodiment of Bulgarian identity. In the different rooms, visitors can learn about Bulgarian history. It is interesting how events are narrated, and which events are omitted, for example, the importance place given to the Thracians, can be regarded as a way to stress the antiquity of the Bulgarian civilization, even before the arrival of the Slavs. The invention of the Bulgarian language, as well as the Bulgarian Church have a prominent place, occupying one of the largest rooms in the building, where visitors can also learn about the Great Bulgarian Empire shaped during this period.

The biggest silence consists of references to the Ottoman Empire which is only mentioned as the foreign force that brought the Bulgarians in an undesirable state of submission. The room dedicated to this period explains how Bulgarian culture and language survived under this foreign regime, and how the liberation process started and concluded with the triumph of national restoration. National heroes such as Vasil Levski are celebrated in this room, showing the relevance of this concept of a country in the current identity discourse. The lack of information concerning the five centuries under Ottoman rule, with the exception of references to the Bulgarian resistance, can be seen as a way to build Bulgarian identity in opposition to the enemies, the Ottomans.

Consequently Bulgarian identity can hardly include otherness in its discourse. In spite of the existence of other ethnic groups as foretold, national identity is still built on the basis of a nation being opposed to the Turks. Even when the Turkish-Bulgarians reached a degree of social recognition, overall identity discourses continued to promote the idea of the hegemonic group based on the Orthodox religion, the Bulgarian language and ethnic group. For example, the main festivities celebrated in Bulgaria are March the 3rd, Liberation Day, and May the 24th, Cyrillic Alphabet Day. National identity is celebrated in both festivities, in contrast with occupation of the Ottomans, usually referred to as Turks, as opposed to Christians. The celebration of the alphabet is a way to stress the relevance of their language within national consciousness. These events, language, ethnicity and religion, still remain the core of identity in spite of the political recognition of otherness within Bulgaria's own borders.

The resulting imagined community is quite effective in promoting the notion of belonging that is required to sustain the nation. It implies a concrete way to tell and understand national history, and a management of the cultural heritage such as language and museums. This identity shaping process is not finished, and therefore has to be readjusted to the current situation day after day. Outlining Slavic roots during Socialism or focusing on Protobulgarian populations in the current situation illustrates clearly how discourse has to evolve and adapt in order to be useful in promoting national identity. This discourse should be understood as a work in progress and not as a finished process.

Identity shaping in a migration process

Due to economic pressures, many Bulgarians started a migration process after the fall of Socialism. Since the entry of Bulgaria in the European Union, migrating to European

countries has become an easy option, and Spain a desired destination. The Bulgarian community settled in Spain is quite large and it shows a high degree of integration with the local population. In spite of being a large group of people, they have often become socially invisible and a lack of prejudices against them is often to be noticed. The fieldwork I carried out in Castile and León (Spain) reveals how identity management is relevant in terms of integration within local communities.

The Bulgarian community settled in Castile and León shows ethnic divisions in line with those seen in Bulgarian society, as described above. Hence, there are Bulgarians, Turkish-Bulgarians, and Roma. Although this internal differentiation is relevant for Bulgarian consciousness, they usually introduce themselves as mere Bulgarians, avoiding mentioning their ethnicity. This can be regarded as an integration strategy to promote an idea of “Bulgarianness” which becomes important in improving their chances of integration. The local population considers the Bulgarians a group of people who profess Christianity, and somehow belong to an ethnic group similar to the Spanish one. This way of hiding the internal divisions has proved helpful in avoiding the emergence of a negative prejudice similar to that suffered by Romanians, who are usually considered Roma, disregarding their real ethnicity.

In some cases, it has been reported that Muslim-Bulgarians change their names to Christian ones in public interactions, while continuing to use their Muslims names at home, to succeed in integrating in the local community (Deneva, 2008). Although I have not come across such extreme situations, it is true that usually Turkish-Bulgarians and Roma tended to present themselves as Bulgarian, and, only after prolonged fieldwork and after trust had been built, they started to disclose their ethnicity. They revealed that they speak Turkish at home with their family and close friends, and use Bulgarian to speak to other members of the Bulgarian community, in order to be considered as Bulgarian, both by other Bulgarians and by the local population.

Spanish identity is based on similar principles as the Bulgarian one. Christianity, besides the fear and hate of the Muslims, is at the core of a national identity that has been shaped since the Middle Ages (Stallaert, 2006). In spite of Spain being a secular state, Catholicism is the preferred way of celebrating Spanish identity, as demonstrated by the rituals and national festivities. Furthermore, a significant number of legends and fairy tales support the idea of a national spirit build against the Muslims. Even official historiography supports the idea of a Reconquista when describing the wars between Christian and Muslim kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages. Following the foundation of modern Spain by the “Catholic Kings”, it was necessary to prove one’s own identity as being to prove the own being as “old Christian” in order to be considered completely Spanish. Although the current situation is different and is more tolerant, a strong prejudice against Muslims can be observed within Spanish mentality.

Consequently, being considered Bulgarian instead of Muslim becomes useful in terms of integration. At the same time, celebrations of the main Bulgarian festivities in Spain, those relating to liberation, fit well with the local notion that also considered the Muslims’ presence in the peninsula as an invasion. The translation of Vasil Levski’s biography by the Bulgarian Embassy, under the title of “The Apostle of Freedom”, fits this trend. The Apostle is, in Spanish mentality, the Apostle Santiago, who is supposed to have helped in the Reconquista, and is Spain’s patron saint. In this way, Bulgarian national heroes become

closer to Spanish national heroes, making them easier to understand by the local population.

In this context, it is interesting to consider the role of the Bulgarian Associations in the celebration of the different Bulgarian rituals, which helps in the integration of the whole community, promoting the idea of a group similar to the Spanish population because of their shared enemies. For example, during Independence celebrations held in Valladolid on the 3rd May of 2014, elder Spanish men and women pointed out that “the Bulgarians had to fight against the Muslims, just like we did centuries ago”. This statement sadly reveals how the shared enemy acts as a factor to improve chances of integration.

The role of Bulgarian Associations is also relevant within the Bulgarian community as it supports the idea of the imagined community to which all community members belong. The main activities developed by these associations are Sunday Schools and folkdance groups. In both cases, Bulgarian tradition is used to promote the existence of a Bulgarian community tied to the Bulgaria they have left behind. In parallel to what happens in Bulgaria, language and history are taught in Sunday School to promote national identity. Furthermore, participants in my research explained that they consider Sunday School similar to the “*chatilishte*” mentioned above. The management of history, religion and language continue to be an effective way to shape the imagined community and the shared identity, while improving the group’s chances in the integration process.

Concluding remarks

Throughout this paper I have demonstrated how the management of history can be considered a source in the making of the nation. The case of Bulgaria illustrates how essential it is to understand history in a concrete way in order to promote an identity discourse supporting the existence of an imagined community. Being one of the oldest countries in Europe, Bulgaria is an interesting case of use and management of the historic background in the making of the current identity and nation.

I have taken into account three main elements in order to analyze the relevance of the management of history and cultural heritage to create the identity and the nation. First of all, I have shown how both Bulgarian empires relied on a community constituted of two main elements: language and religion. They are relevant in shaping an imagined community, acting as a tool for the group’s self-identification and differentiation from its neighbors, promoting the idea of originality and uniqueness. Besides these elements, the triumph of the Slavs over the Protobulgarians created the idea of an internal homogeneity in the emergent Bulgaria.

Secondly, these elements came back to relevance starting from the XIX century. The “Liberation of Bulgaria” succeeded thanks to the promotion of a shared identity which differentiated the Bulgarians from the Ottomans, the latter perceived as foreign people settled in the country. Bulgarian identity was reshaped taking into account language and religion, and the management of ethnical diversity inside its own borders. The construction of an identity over these elements continues to be relevant in the current situation. Although some facts have changed, such as the relevance given to Protobulgarians over the Slavs, or the legal recognition of other ethnic groups such as the Turkish-Bulgarians or the Roma, the core of identity continues to be based on the Bulgarian language, ethnicity and religion.

Thirdly, I have explained how the construction process of this identity is an ongoing

process abroad. Bulgarian migrants who have settled in Spain provide us with a good example of the construction of an imagined community. This construction is based again on religion, ethnicity and language, as well as on Bulgaria itself. This identity construction helps in the integration process because it fits well with local mentality and identity conceptions.

For this reason, the study of the management of history is relevant not only when studying history, but also when researching migration and integration processes.

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Identity in construction. Identity definitions in the integration process of the Bulgarian community in Castile and Leon (Spain).

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar el modo en el que las diferencias culturales aumentan su interconexión en el contexto de las modernas sociedades. Para ello se parte del análisis de caso de estudio de la tesis. Se analizará el modo en el que los contextos locales y la agencia desarrollada por los inmigrantes se unen en una sinergia entre la gestión de la identidad y la integración.

En primer lugar, se focalizará la atención en la respuesta local al fenómeno migratorio desde el punto de la creación de tejido social y de integración. En este caso, el desarrollo de varias ONG's y asociaciones ha funcionado como un agente de desarrollo comunitario que ofrecía ayuda a los inmigrantes al tiempo que les permitía participar en los procesos de toma de decisiones en el terreno local.

El marco teórico de este enfoque es la teoría interculturalista impulsada desde las Instituciones Europeas. Esto implica una defensa de la diversidad cultural y la promoción de las diferencias culturales de los inmigrantes, analizadas desde la óptica de la tolerancia, la igualdad y el diálogo.

En segundo lugar, el artículo se centra en los procesos de creación de identidad derivados de la integración de los búlgaros y las búlgaras en el terreno local. A pesar de la diversidad étnica y religiosa que existe dentro del grupo, se promueve una identidad colectiva unívoca eslava y cristiana. Esto muestra su grado de consciencia de los parámetros identitarios locales y cómo afectan a sus posibilidades de éxito en el proceso de integración.

Por tanto, explorando la gestión de la identidad por parte de la comunidad búlgara se puede analizar el papel de la identidad en el mundo actual y su relevancia en los procesos de creación de tejido social en las complejas sociedades interculturales en las que habitamos.

Identity in construction. Identity definitions in the integration process of the Bulgarian community in Castile and Leon (Spain).

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Key Word: migration, community development, identity management, integration

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to study how cultural differences are becoming increasingly connected in the context of modern societies, analysing the case of the Bulgarian settled in Castile and Leon. We will explore how local context and the migrants' agency come together in terms of identity management and integration.

First of all, we will focus on the local answer to the migration phenomenon in terms of community making and integration. In our case of study, the performance of different NGO's and associations acts as a community development strategy which provides migrants with help while offer them the possibility to take part in the decision making process in the town. The overall framework of the process is the interculturalism promoted by the European Union, which means that cultural differences of the diverse groups of migrants are promoted under the umbrella of tolerance, equality and dialog.

Secondly, we will concentrate on the identity creation processes derived from the integration of the Bulgarian migrants in the local level. In spite of the ethnic and religious differences observed in Bulgaria, they promote a homogeneous image of the group based on their background as Slavonic and Christians. They are conscious that these features increase their possibilities of success to be integrated because it matches the local identity notion.

Therefore, exploring the identity management of the Bulgarian community we can reflect upon the role of identity in the contemporary world, and its relevance in the community making process in the complex and intercultural societies where we live.

Community development, interculturalism and integration network.

Migration has become one of the most outstanding social facts in the contemporary world. The number of people moving around the world increases year after year, rising the complexity of the societies. Since the last decade of the XX century, Spain became a country of destination for many people who considered that this country offered them the possibility to improve their life conditions (Rengifo Calderón & Oporto del Olmo, 2005). At the beginning of the XXI century Castile and Leon increased its popularity among migrants, especially for those who came from the east European countries.

Many other regions became relevant in terms of migration before this one, because of the labour market requirements (Moreno Fuentes, 2007). Madrid, Valencia, Cataluña and País Vasco have been the most desired destinies in the last two decades due to the amount of jobs related with industry and tourism. However, Castile and Leon is not an industrial area in the country, nor as touristic as the seashore. In fact this region is characterized by medium sized towns and many small villages where there are not so

many job vacancies to find. Its economy is traditionally based on agriculture, and not in industrial development.

Nevertheless, this area has found in migration a way to enface the challenge of an ageing population. Promoting the arrival of people turns into a strategy to fight against the low rate of population. For this reason, it started to arrange specific strategies to attract migrants as a solution to its demographic problem. Meanwhile other areas in Spain were in the need of people to enter in the labour market, Castile and Leon had the increase of population as the main goal to accomplish. Hence, migrants' integration turned the core of their migration politics, in order to become a permanent place of residence.

According to the Spanish legislation, Migration General Laws are promoted by the country government, but they need to be developed at the local level. Castile and Leon has its own migration legislation which acquires the concrete form at the local level of the towns and villages. Legal framework requires the migrants to be registered at the local council to have access to the national health system and to the public schools. For this reason, specific and concrete actions carried out at the local level become quite relevant for the migration settlement.

Many towns and villages were conscious about the relevance of migration and promote some community development strategies to improve the integration process, shaping a new society(García Álvarez, 1984; VV.AA., 2010). Usually, these strategies were implemented by the municipality council and a different amount of NGO's, emerging a network to provide migrants with different services and to promote their integration in the local society. In this sense, migration and integration strategies are not an exception. NGO's and associations are relevant social actors in the civil society in Spain, who work together to arrange the many different aspects of local life. I this case, the influence of the local patterns of organization can be observed as well in the organization of migrants' life style.

These NGO's and local political agency provide the migrant population with different services, such as free Spanish language lessons, legal support, intercultural mediation expertise, job training and also some economic support for different basic aspect of the daily life. For this reason they develop a relevant position in the migrants' life, evolving into social centres where migrants meet each other(Thouez, 2003). The aim of these reception network composed by the city council and the NGO's is to promote the integration of the new habitants in the local context. Spanish learning and making new acquaintances in the town are the most outstanding strategies to achieve this goal. Therefore, this network gives relevance to some concrete places in the urban landscape which turn relevant to shape the migrants' community.

The reception network itself promotes the formation of many different migrant's associations as a tool of local development. By this way, a formal migrant network emerges which is useful not only in terms of reinforcing the migration process, but also for the purposes of the local agency to integrate the migrants. Through the associations migrants become a relevant social actor at the local level, starting a process of co-working with the local associations and NGO's. They can be regarded as a way to

organize the social life of the different migrants' communities at the same time that they guarantee the participation of the migrants in the daily life of the different towns.

The fact that these associations are built in the context of the reception network makes them to inherit the rules and principles of the local level. One of the most relevant guideline of work is the interculturalism (Degregori, 1999; Hernández, 2005). This has been the main ideology in the last decades after the many problems showed by the multiculturalism ideology applied before. Both ways of conceiving social coexistence of different collectives with different cultural identities are based on the aim to promote the integration and communication of different collectives at the same time that they protect the cultural particularities of each of them. Multiculturalist focuses on the protection of the cultural differences, being hardly criticised by many politicians and social scientists because of the fact that it puts the group rights over the individual.

Interculturalism tries to avoid this problem, promoting the cultural difference but in a different sense, stressing the communication between the different collectives, shaping a framework of tolerance and equality between the different communities. It can be understood as the legal warranty to express and maintain cultural differences at the same time that enable people from other communities to take part in the own group activities. Interculturalism focuses in the promotion of cultural differences but accessible for each member of the whole society. That facilitates the integration of the different migrants' collectives due the participation of different people in their activities but at the same time has been criticised because it implies the commodification of cultural identities. Cultural particularities reach a controversial position between their roles as community makers and product of consumption for other members of the local community.

This way of migration management is not an original local initiative but the reflection of the general framework promoted by the European Union. The European contexts enface the challenge of building a society based on a general and shared notion of citizenship and, at the same time, on the maintenance of the different cultural identities. For this reason it enhances many different political structures where the identities can be expressed, where different guidelines to promote the particularities and where the right of difference is assured, while also ensuring equality between the members of the different groups. The implementation of this way of understanding social life at the political level influences the way in which cultural identities are shaped and expressed by the different groups and countries.

Regarding this fact, we can understand the local strategies of development and integration in Castile and Leon as a crossroad between the global logic of interculturalism and the logic of the local context where civil society is based on the common work of different associations. The challenge of migrants' integration has found a kind of solution in the promotion of migrants' associations which take part in the local life as well as the local associations do. That shows the relevance of the global theoretical perspectives in terms of migration and the local particularities of social organization. At the same time, has a big influence shaping the migrants' community itself, enabling for them spheres of participation in the local scenery. Interculturalism implements a dynamic framework where the cultural particularities are stressed

meanwhile equality and tolerance is assured. That makes the different migrants' communities to develop their activities between the equality and tolerance in the local context and the reinforcement of their own groups, reaching a dialectic position between the integration and segregation.

Redefining and shaping the “Bulgarianess”.

Identity is a crucial and controversial fact in Bulgaria. In contrast to the Spanish society, Bulgarians are divided according to ethnic and religious criteria. As in the other Balkan Countries, ethnicity and religion have a deep and relevant meaning in terms of identity, wisely integrated in the different national discourses. Slavonic is the most representative ethnic group in Bulgaria, but there is not the only one. There are as well Turkish-Bulgarian, Roma, Pomaks, and Jews as a result of the location of the country between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. In terms of religion, the main religion is the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, but there are also Muslims, Jews, Catholics and an increasing number of agnosticism(Deneva, 2008; Krasteva, 1998; Leustean, 2008). These ethnic and religious differences make the Bulgarian a heterogeneous and complex society.

These differences are quite relevant for the Bulgarian society, not only in the academic world, but also for the political organization and the daily life of regular citizens. They recognize themselves as members of one of those collectives emerged from the ethnical divisions. Religion is not so strict observed, but is also relevant for some groups. The migration process to Spain changes this perspective in a quite interesting way that shows the effectiveness of the community strategies of identity construction in terms of integration. The associations play an important role in the identity group shaping. They not only use the interculturalism framework mentioned above, but also provide a group image for the local community. This image is as well imposed to the Bulgarian migrant group itself. In this sense, they create a notion of Bulgarianess useful for the integration in the local context.

In contrast with the Bulgarian social heterogeneity, Spanish society is constructed under the myth of homogeneity. The creation process of Spain as a nation in the late medieval period was based on the ideal of religious and ethnic unity. The Spanish Inquisition was not only a weapon to combat the religious heresy, but also a useful tool to achieve a kind of ethnic unity. The notion of “Old Christian” emerged as a way to proof not only an identity in terms of religious criteria, but also in an ethnic sense(Stallaert, 2006). Religion merged somehow with ethnicity. It was not a matter of a person who professed a concrete the catholic faith, but a person who could proof the purity of his blood also in the precedent generations. It is a core idea in the identity definition of the country and resist century after century, being also relevant nowadays. In spite of the real social heterogeneity, an imagined homogeneous community is still to be observed in the Spanish mentality(Anderson, 2006). So, the interculturalism promoted by the local agencies contrast with the ideal of “Old Christian Spaniard”, dominant in the daily life.

Regarding this fact, Bulgarian community developed a clever management system of their identity. They still differentiate and recognize the ethnical and religious diversity between them, but provide a unitary image of the collective based on the preferred identity in Bulgaria: Slavonic and Orthodox. The different Bulgarian associations take

care about this public image, providing the local community with the idea that Bulgarians are Slavonic and Christians. By this way, they match the identity logic of the local terrain, increasing their possibilities of integration. In spite of their actual ethnic and religious background, they usually stress the Slavonic and Christian roots of their country as a way to facilitate their daily life because of the fact that they are perceived as closer to the Spanish mentality than other migrants' communities.

The lack of a previous knowledge about Bulgaria by the local population has helped a lot in this process. As far as there was any pre-existent image of the Bulgarian, the different associations have had the possibility to implement a unitary image useful for the people. In contrast we can analyse the position of the Rumanian collective. Local population have the belief that all of them are Roma, and there are many racist prejudices against them. Even though the Rumanian community is composed as well by different ethnic identities, according to the local mentality all of them are considered as Roma until they proof that are not. That makes their integration more difficult in comparison with other migrants collectives. Even at the official level, they have been criticized in public by some politicians as it was useful for the local elections. As far as they are perceived as a potential danger, they turned into a useful scapegoat in many electoral events, especially when migrants' has been shown as one of the potential dangers in the context of the economic crisis.

In contrast with this situation, the Bulgarians had the possibility to create a collective notion avoiding their internal ethnic and religious diversity. This image creation process can be observed in the celebration of their rituals. For example, the celebration of the mentioned Martenitsa includes long explanations about the Bulgarian History and their liberation from the Ottoman Empire. When they present their national heroes such as Vasil Levski or Xristo Botev, and explain people their heroic fight against the ottomans, local population makes automatically the parallelism with the national heroes of the times of the so called Reconquist, when the Spanish Christians fought and repelled the Muslims from the country. Usually local people who attend to these rituals comments how similar are both national Histories, and perceive the Bulgarian closer to the Spanish than other nationalities. It is as if the common enemy helps to bring people together. Bulgarians are conscious of this fact and manage it with wisdom in the different situations.

As far as they can, they try to hide the internal divisions and ethnic or religious diversity. When we started with our field work, we used to ask our informants about Roma, Turks and other collectives relevant in Bulgaria. They usually explained us that it was true that Bulgarian society is a complex of different identities, and somehow spoke proudly about this fact derived from the rich historical tradition of the Balkan countries. But when they were asked about roma or Turks from Bulgaria in the local context, they refer to them as the others. They usually explained that the Bulgarians settled in other place, in other town or village, were Turks or Roma, in contrast with they who presented themselves as "Bulgarian". They use this difference to justify the few contact developed with these other Bulgarian communities, and to differentiate from them, perceived as "the Others".

It was only after a research stay in Sofia when fieldwork started to change. After explaining them that one of the most outstanding facts from an anthropological point of view was the mixture of ethnicities and religions observed in Bulgaria, they started to speak more openly about this topic. One of our informants, a young man who has lived the past 12 years in Spain, explained us that there are different kinds of Bulgarian. One of them, referred as the “bad Bulgarian”, were the Roma. According to this guy, they are not good people to trust on. On the contrary, there are as well “good Bulgarian”, reliable and hard workers. After some days speaking with him about this topic, and after assuring him that we knew some of this Roma and were nice people, he started a kind of disclosure of his own ethnicity. He started to explain us that “somehow, I’m half-roma”. When he was asked about what “half-roma” meant, he answered that his four grandparents were Roma, who spoke in romani, but his parents, both of them, convert to “Bulgarian” after some years, speaking Bulgarian language and behaving as a “properly Bulgarian”.

This example illustrates quite well the way in which identity is constructed, providing us with an interesting case of cultural construction of ethnicity. It was not the only case in this association placed in Valladolid. After some more days we discovered that many of them were Roma, some of them were Turks, and only the few of them were Slavonic. However, they promote the public image of Bulgarianess based on the idea of Slavonic and Christian belonging. And it is not only relevant for the local community, but also for the Bulgarians themselves, because it alters the perception of ethnicity for the young generations.

The case of the Roma is quite interesting regarding the local context. They are one of the most well-known and controversial collectives in the society. They called themselves Gypsies, so Roma is a word never used in the Spanish contexts. After many years of social exclusion, different integration strategies have been developed to empower this collective. Nowadays they are still in a no defined position, but year after year they can be considered as more integrated in the society. Since the democracy arrival, different inclusive politics have been implemented to incorporate them to the scholar system, and to improve their image in the society. The “Gypsy Secretary”, an NGO working for the integration, develops several programs of culture and skills for them. This NGO has as well a specific program for Gypsies Migrants but, when they were asked about it, they explained us that only seldom they provide with help to some Bulgarian. “In contrast with other Roma communities from the East of Europe, Bulgarians Roma usually don’t recognize themselves as Gypsies, and our efforts to work with them have had no result” told us one of our informants.

It is due to two main reasons. First of all, the strategic identity management by the Bulgarian community understand the risk of being identified as Gypsy at the local context. Secondly, the Spanish Gypsies and the Bulgarian Roma perceived themselves as too different to belong to the same ethnic group. Only few communities of Gypsies in Spain speak Romani. Most of them speak *caló*, a language quite similar to Spanish language with only few words in common with Romani. That makes both communities, the Bulgarian and the Spanish, to mistrust the other and to consider them as something totally different. Only the Gypsies communities who maintain the use of Romani feel a

sense of brotherhood with only these Bulgarian Romas who maintain the group border in the migration process. Even though these groups are a quite interesting case of study, they don't represent the main tendency neither in the local Gypsy community, nor in the Bulgarian Roma migrants.

Another thing of great importance is the religion. The regional legislation about the scholar system provides people with the possibility to learn religion at the public school. Castile and Leon offers the possibility to learn Catholic religion as the predetermined option, but also offers the possibility to learn Protestant religion or Muslim religion if required by a relevant number of students at the scholar centre. In spite of the fact that Orthodox are one of the most relevant groups in the region after the Catholics, and so they had the theoretical right to ask for Orthodox religion lessons, they don't do that. During our field work we try as well to research the integration of Bulgarian children at the school. Headmaster of the School explained us that usually Bulgarians attend to the Christian religion lesson without complaining. In contrast with the Protestants who defence their difference, the Bulgarian present themselves as Christians as a part of their integration strategy. In spite of the fact that they visit the Orthodox Church in their private life, they merge with the Catholic as Christians in the public and normative sphere of the scholar system.

Religion is as well relevant in the performance of the rituals. Our fieldwork provides us with a good an interesting case of study about this topic. After one folk dance exhibition done by the Bulgarian Association Rodina, in Segovia, with the cooperation of Stara Planina from Valladolid, a kind small party was arranged at the neighbourhood in Segovia. Most of the people there were Bulgarians, but there were also some Spanish people invited to this event. The president of the Association started to speak about the festival done, and the many things that the Bulgarian people did in the local context. She finished sharing a *pitka*, a kind of special Bulgarian bread, and explaining all of us that "all of us are Christian, and have the moral duty to share our bread and life in harmony together". This discourse promoted the image of the Bulgarian as Christians as the Spanish people as a way to shape a community where both of them can live together. The integration porpoises of this speech are evident.

The reaction of the group was quite interesting. Most of them complain about the fact that this lady present the community as Christians. Many of them are evangelistic, Muslim or agnostics. A murmur or disapproval started to be heard in the room, but they only complained in Bulgarian language, and no one of them did in Spanish. When some of the Spanish people there asked about these for them incomprehensible words, they avoid a literal translation and just vaguely referred to personal differences with the president. No one dared to explain the religious diversity and break the useful homogeneity shaped due to this image. Dissent and diversity was shown only in private through the use of their own language, avoiding its disclosure to the local community.

The integration process can be regarded as a complex of many different social processes where the different identities are negotiated. The case of the Bulgarian migrants shows how an appropriate management of the identity can be crucial I terms of integration. The different Bulgarian associations play a relevant role in the group identity definition. They promote a unitary image based on the Slavonic and Christian identity. It is

relevant for the local community and at the same time shows a properly knowledge of the Spanish mentality in terms of religion and ethnicity. The fact that the public image promoted by the associations perfectly match with the local preferred identity construction can't be considered as a causality but the result of a wise selection of the Bulgarian characteristics to be stressed. This created Bulgarianess is not only relevant in terms of integration, but also is crucial for the people of the group themselves. They use this image to redefine their own identity role also in their privates conceptions. The discussions and dissents occurred inside the group, in contrast to the apparent homogeneity and agreement in front of the local community shows the relevance of understanding this emergence of the Bulgarianess as a dynamic process and not as a reached and crystalized definition. The tension between the Bulgarian identity discourses, the Spanish discourses, and the so shaped Bulgarianess merge in the individual decision making process, affecting his daily way of life.

Concluding remarks

Throughout this paper we have studied the influence of the local dynamics and the migrants' associations in the promotion of identities. The management of these identities is variable on the different situations in the local context, although it is always crucial in the migration process. Therefore, we can conclude there is not only one way of being a migrant but many options according to the context.

First of all, we have analysed the way in which the local answer to migrations shapes the social structure of the migrants' groups. The development of local strategies based on the existence of different NGO's and associations to provide with help and assistance to the migrants can be considered as the first reference point for migration in towns.

The promotion of different migrants' associations can be considered as a strategy of integration implemented by the local society. These migrants' associations facilitate their participation in the decision making process in the town. Furthermore, they constitute a network besides the local associations and NGO's which shapes the local community through the integration of different social actors and people.

This network of associations is guided by the principles of the interculturalism promoted by the European Union. That means that cultural particularities from the different migrants' group are to be outlined, but in the framework of tolerance and equality required by the democratic civil life. For that reason, the migrants' associations have the double aim to promote the own identity and to help to the integration of migrants in the local society and with the other migrants. These associations become a relevant social actor for the migrant community, not only because they enable their participation in the local level, but also because they shape the migrant community itself.

Throughout the study case of the Bulgarian migrants settled in Castile and Leon we have analysed of the identity creation processes. Identity is not an essential feature of a group, but the result of a deliberate selection of some concrete aspects that are outlined. According to the context, Bulgarians develop different layers of identity which they use to increase their possibilities of integration. In spite of the many ethnic and religious differences in the Bulgarian society, they promote a homogenous image of the group

based on their Slavonic and Christian roots. This so created identity matches the local ideas and principles, facilitating the integration of the collective. The silence about intern diversity is crucial for the group to integrate in the local level.

Therefore, we have explored how group identity emerges in the migration process, and to balance that with the integration process. Identity is not a static concept but a dynamic reality which evolves and adapt depending on the context, swinging from internal diversity to external homogeneity. Bulgarian migrants are a good example to understand the relevance of the cultural identity making process, crucial to understand the modern complex societies in the contemporary world.

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Building community development: integration strategies of the Bulgarian Migrants in Castile and Leon (Spain)

En este artículo se analiza el proceso de integración de una comunidad de inmigrantes al tiempo que se investiga el proceso de migración empleando la herramienta conceptual del Sistema Migratorio. Por motivos analítico, se considera que el sistema migratorio es un todo compuesto del proceso migratorio y de las cadenas migratorias entre uno y otro país, incluyendo, además, las diferentes redes sociales que se desarrollan para posibilitar el flujo migratorio, junto con el nivel macroestructural político y económico.

Dentro de este sistema se distinguen tres categorías distintas de redes sociales que permiten comprender mejor el fenómeno migratorio que se investiga. (i) las redes de migración, (ii) las redes personales y laborales, (III) las redes institucionales y de asociaciones. Estos tres niveles funcionan conjuntamente provocando sinergias que mantienen el proceso migratorio.

Al incorporar a este análisis el concepto de Capital Social desarrollado por Bourdieu, este enfoque posibilita, además que se estudie el proceso de integración. El modo en el que la comunidad inmigrante y la comunidad local comienzan a trabajar juntas puede analizarse a partir de la noción de sistema migratorio.

Esta integración no debe entenderse como un estatus alcanzado sino más bien como un proceso que se encuentra en un estado de cambio permanente, fruto de una negociación continuada. Esta negociación se basa en las estrategias que desarrollan los diferentes actores sociales. Estas estrategias redefinen tanto la identidad de la comunidad de inmigrantes como la de la propia población local, mostrando la relevancia de las asociaciones como gestoras de la identidad grupal.

Por eso se analiza el modo en el que se desarrollan estas estrategias de integración mediante la construcción identitaria grupal que influye también en un nivel individual. El riesgo de segregación y el éxito en el proceso de integración forman parte de este proceso dialéctico fundamental para la propia comunidad de acogida.

Building community development: integration strategies of the Bulgarian Migrants in Castile and Leon (Spain)

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1.- Introduction

The aim of this paper is to explore the integration process of a migrant community as well as the migration process through the analysis of the migration system. For analytical purposes we consider the migration system as a whole composed by the migration process and the chain between one country and another. In addition to the several networks developed to make it possible, within the political and economical macrostructural level. Within this system we distinguish three categories of social networks: (i) migration network, (ii) personal and labor network, (iii) institutional and association network. The three of them function together in order to maintain the migration process.

Simultaneously, this theoretical approach enables us to understand the role of these networks as a system of integration of migrants in the local community. Furthermore, the notion of social capital (Bourdieu, 1977; Portes, 1998) is a helpful proxy to explain how society changes, integrating the migrants and the local population.

Moreover, integration is not an accomplished state, but a process in constant evolution where the strategies developed by the different social actors are crucial in getting the goal. According to that, such strategies redefine not only identity of the migrant community, but also of the local one. Therefore, the migrant associations play an important role as providers and managers of the community identity.

Consequently, we will explore the migrants' integration strategies considering the relevant role of identity construction in daily life. The risk of segregation and the success of integration are engaged in a dialectical process central to the development of the local community.

2.- Arriving and settling in a new country. Migration system and patterns.

The migration system has been one of the most used and discussed approach in the last years researching in migration. Its different theoretical conceptions and uses make it being a vaguely defined concept, wide enough to integrate several theoretical opposed

points of view, as well as becoming an “umbrella concept”, enfacing the risk of becoming unable to connect the theoretical level with the empirical research(Oliver Bakewell, 2012; De Haas, 2010; Massey et al., 1993). However, it continues being one of the most useful approaches to migration research, even if its definition keeps being unclear. In this communication we are using the migration system as a way to understand the way in which the Bulgarian community develops the process of migration, as well the integration in the local society of Castile and León (Spain).

The migration system is close related with the social exclusion observed in the contemporary society. As foreigners, migrants arrive to the destination country without any warranty of success, or civil rights in the new society. Before their registration and their consequents possibilities of acquiring a legal status, migration system provides them with the social capital which could eventually turns into relevant resources to assure their life project.

The concept of migration systems leads to a wide level which includes the country of origin, the country of destination, the migrant community, the former migrant community, as well as many other social actors like institutions, employers, and many factors of the economical and political macrolevel. For analytical reasons we are using the term “migration system” to refer to this complex of different social actors and its ties, which contribute and guarantee the flow of information, reduce the costs of migration, and enhance the will of migration in the former community. Within this migration system we would like to distinguish the social networks developed by the migrants and local social actors. We will see how these social networks become important to maintain the migration system, as well as to promote the integration of the migrants in the local community daily life. Those social networks emerged in the concrete context of the migration of the Bulgarian to Castile and León, reflecting the concrete situation in their early stages, and continuing along the time as a kind of social inertia which influence the functioning and shaping of them in the presents.

The migration of the Bulgarian to Spain started to be important in the last decade of the XXst century. The fall of the Sozialismus made it easier to travel abroad, the borders were opened, and a big amount of people started to move to other countries, looking for a better job opportunities. Although they start to arrive in the 90’s, it was during the first years of the XXI century when they became a relevant group of people in many places. At the early stage, their most loved destinations were Valencia, Madrid, País Vasco and Cataluña(Viruela Martínez, 2008). In the early beginning of the XXIst century it

became easier for them to go to other places in Europe. In 2000 the new legislation makes it possible for them to travel abroad without a visa, and a special agreement were signed between the Spanish and Bulgarian government. Year after year, the number of Bulgarian increased. This tendency enforced after the entry of Bulgaria and Rumania in the European Union in 2007.

Castile and Leon became one of the most desirable destinies by the Bulgarian community due to the facilities offered to solve the registration. Even though it is not an industrial area, the low rate of population put this region in the need to incorporate new inhabitants to warrantee the demographical future of the area. The distribution of the local population in many small villages offered a good opportunity for the migrants to start their migration project finding a job in the rural areas related with the agriculture and domestic service. Bulgarian take the chance offered but Castile and Leon and they became the second biggest migrant community beside the Romanian.

For example, one of our informants told us how he started with his migration project after hearing a lot about the facilities in Castile and León. Coming from a depressed industrial area in the north of Bulgaria, he got a tourist allowance to France where he was supposed to stay one week. “We even had paid the hotels and different excursions around to make it more credible, but as soon as we could, we moved to Valderas (León, Spain). Once you were in the EU it was easy to move to other country, and it was well-known that in Spain it was easy to live and work, even if you had no work permit”. This man told us how he settled in Valderas(a village in León district) due a friend that he had there, and how could bring his family after the new legislation in 2002. After some years, they move together to Valladolid, due the more job opportunities and NGO’s help providers.

Time turns relevant for migrants regarding their ability to be registered in the country of destiny. Castile and Leon developed a policy of registration in order to attract a migrant community which assures the viability of the demography of the area. A high developed administrative system, besides specifically migrations plans, made the registration easier and faster than in other places in Spain. It was said that in less than five months it was possible to get your residing allowance, which was much shorter compared with big cities like Madrid, Valencia or Barcelona.

Migration system enhances several different networks which provides migrants with social capital. Regarding our fieldwork, we can distinguish **three different types of networks** for analytical purposes: (i) the migrant’s network, (ii) personal and laboral

networks, (iii) the institutions and association network. These three types allow us to integrate the community of origin, the local community of the country of destination, the formal level of social and political interaction, and the integration system in the local daily life (Van Meeteren Pereira, 2013).

(i) The **migrant network** refers to the network emerged from the first pioneers and the communities of origin, making possible the flow of information, the consequent reduce of the costs of migration, and the enhancement of the will of migration (Arango, 2003). Such a network is constituted by personal ties, which happened to be weak in the most of the cases, but which can be reinforced to start the migrant process. We can easily observe that most of the cases decided to move to a concrete place due the information they had from their personal and kinship networks. The first Bulgarians who reach that area keep in touch with their origin communities, guaranteeing the flow of information between the new established community and the places of origin. They started the chain of migration (Pedone, 2002) which lead after the time to the migration system.

The personal contacts are pointed out as the most determinative reason to take the decision to migrate to a concrete place (Stanek, 2009). As shown in several other migrations networks case studies, those network are build up from a kind of informal contact, but they became an important support for the new arrivals, helping them to find a job, a place to live etc. Our fieldwork shows this existence of weak ties, due kinship or friendship that can be reactivated within the migration process. These weak ties allowed people to move not only from Bulgaria to Spain, but also from other parts of Spain to the concrete area of Castile and León.

(ii) The **personal and laboral networks** refers to these social networks emerged from the interaction of a person and his employer. From the one-to-one relationship between an employer and the migrant, a small social network could emerge, integrating the families of the both sides, providing other members of the migrant family with a job, help with the administrative bureaucracy, and housing. This kind of network reveals quite personal, which make it less accessible than the migrant network. In this case, a weak tie can rather become a point of integration in the network. However they have a big importance attending to the migration system.

The new personal networks developed in the arrival country meet the transnational migration network, taking part by this way in the migration system. Our first case presented above told us how his boss offers him the possibility to make a contract to her wife. By this way, he succeeded in bringing her and one of his daughters to Valderas.

The wife told us how the Lady of the house was nice to her and explained her some rules of the Spanish language. “Before we move to the town, there was not any possibility to learn Spanish except this direct help of the people. She was really nice with me and my daughter and we started to feel comfortable in the village”.

This personal story becomes important because is quite typical among our informants and shows how a personal contractual relationship can have a big influence in the settlement patterns of the group. This personal network not only provides a work that helps to bring the family to Spain, but also offers the possibility to gain useful personal skills for the successful integration in the community.

(iii) The **institution and association** network refers to this networks integrated by the different local institutions, associations, and NGO’s, which manage the migration at the local level. They are the local answer to the migration phenomena occurred at the beginning of the XX century. Emerged to enface the problem of migration and integration, were shaping by the interaction between the early local institutions and the pioneers(O Bakewell, de Haas, & Kubal, 2011). At the same time, they also influence the way in which the migration works, providing the new migrants with several useful services. Those facilities enter in the flow of information, reaching the former migrants and contributing to the maintenance of the migration process. It also represents a formal level of interaction between the local community and the migrant community.

Although the migration laws depend on the national legislative framework, according to the Spanish legislation in this topic, the social answer is carried out by the local administration. In our case of study, this local answer consisted in the work of some NGO’s, working together under the coordination of the Municipal Migration Office. At the very early beginning of the XXIst century, those NGO’s were the Red Cross, Cáritas, and DESOD. Some years later appear RED INCOLA and ASAIN, and the local government of the town created the CAI (Center for the attention to the immigrants). This NGO’s and local agencies can be also seen as a part of the migrations system. They contribute in an important way to the flow of information between the former community and the migrants, offering precise information about the social facilities developed for the migrants. Due to the extended use of internet, those associations were accessible even for people who were in other countries or other places in Spain, without having any specific contact within the social network of the migration system(Dekker Engbersen, 2012). In this sense, they are even more accessible that the fore describes migration network. Not even a weak tie is necessary to access to this information and to

benefit of its facilities. Hence, they constitute a big step reducing the costs of migrations, making it possible for a bigger range of the community of origin.

They provide the new migrants with small economical support, employment service, legal advice to arrange the different documents, and Spanish free lessons. One of our informants, who moved from Bulgaria with her children to join her husband, told us how she started to go once a week to visit the people in the different NGO's. "The language course was a good point to start, but it was too short. I was sure that it was important to learn the language and I needed someone to practice with. People at the NGO's were quite nice so I started to visit them every week to practice my Spanish. After some time we had a really good connection and started to offer me courses more suitable to my profile and my wishes. They also helped me to find a job, and after some different jobs I ended working for the Red Cross."

Regarded as the local answer to the migrant phenomena, represent the inclusion of the local population in the migration process. Such migration system so described must be understood as a dynamic reality. Since the very early moments of this new migration wave of the Bulgarian to Castile and León, the system has been permanently changing, adapting its different parts to the expectancies of the different actors, as well to the changes in the global situation. The changes in the social network were followed by changes in the Associations and NGO's organizations, and vice versa.

These three kinds of social networks within the migration systems contribute to the maintenance of the migration process, as well as work as a way of integration in the society. The arrival of the first migrants was important not only by their role as pioneers within the migration system, but also because they contribute to shape these three networks, specially attending to the associations and institution network. Furthermore, we can consider these association and institution as social actors and understand its role beside these pioneers in the making of the systems at its early stage. This dynamics continue in the time making possible the integration of the migrant community in the daily life of the town.

3.-Associations and social capital: developing community

As far as the migrations system keeps working, it readapts its internal dynamics to full fit the demands of the different social actors. By this way it can continue being useful regarding the migrations possibilities to a concrete place. However, the role of the migrations systems overpasses the migrations process, contributing also to the

integration process of the migrant community and the local community. These networks described continue being useful for the migrant settled in the town after those first steps. Hence, the migrations system becomes a kind of integration systems which contribute in to the transformation of the local and the migrant communities, by the actions of the different social actors.

The different networks provide the different migrants with a social space with personal relationships can be developed. For analytical purposes we can distinguish between a structural and formal level, provided by the three kinds of networks, and a informal and personal level attending from the perspective centered in the migrant as a person(Milroy, 1992). As providers of a social space, we can consider that these networks develop a social capital accessible for the migrants(Koser Akcapar, 2010; Kwon & Seok-Woo, 2002; Lin, 1999; Putnam, 1993). We are focusing our analysis in the last kind of networks, this integrated by the institutions and associations, because is the more open and accessible, making its social capital the less restricted. These institutions and associations constitute also a network within the migrant system, in which the individual migrant develops its own path.

The local institutions and associations' network plays an important role in the migrations systems not only helping the migrants solving practical situations, but also becoming places for social interaction(Tichy, Fombrun, & Noel, 1979). Beyond the concrete facilities offered by the institutions, they started to be a place where people meet and are able to get in touch with each other, developing new social networks surpassing the own migrant community. We can consider this new social space offered to the migrant as a social capital, as far as its permits the migrants to develop its own personal network which can help them in several situations related with the migration process, such as finding a job, housing, legal advice etc. This associations and institutions provide the subjects with a big amount of potential weak ties, which can turn into strong ones by personal desire and ability. This social capital generated in the associations depends on the individual agency to be fungible in other kind of capital according to each situation. Such social capital is high valuated by the migrant's community, and constitutes one of the most important bonuses in the information flows, helping in the maintenance of the migration process.

Regarding our case of study, we see that besides the social relationships established within the Bulgarian communities, in those associations they started to develop networks of relationships with other migrants from different countries, as well with

local people who work or volunteer at those institutions. By this way, these associations become not only a place for exchange of material capital, but also for the creation and exchange of social capital. They became important points of social capital creation and management. At the same time they were bringing useful help to the new migrants, they were also interacting with the migrant system as a whole, opening a new level of social interaction. This new level leads to the migrant community beyond the Bulgarian community, as well as to the local society.

One of our informants, a woman who moved from Valencia to Valladolid, told us how she started to have a strong relation with the NGO DESOD. There, she received a course of “Cultural Mediation” and after that she started to work for them, and for the local migration office, helping with bureaucratic problems, and with the local police at the court. “While I was working as cultural mediator, I knew a lot of new people from different countries, and I started to think about to make a big project of integration for the whole migrant community in Valladolid.” The contacts she made along this period of time make it possible that after some year she started with one of the Bulgarian associations in the town(Stara Planina), providing it with a specific orientation. Beyond the care of the Bulgarian traditions and Language, Stara Planina aims to develop several integrations projects in collaboration with other migrants in Valladolid.

This new relationships revealed important for the shaping of the Bulgarian community, surpassing the migrant network in the migrations system in most of the cases. In the early stage, they mostly depend on the relations provided by the migrant network. The association and institution network make it possible to extend the social horizon. They started to develop new social networks routed on the local level. This new possibilities of social relations influenced also the identity and identification of the group and its members. Considering identity from a constructivist approach(Brubaker Cooper, F., 2000), we can see how it changes in the time and in the different contexts. As far as the Bulgarian community depend on other Bulgarians to develop their social network, their identity was moreover the Bulgarian one. Once they started to extend their social networks, they started to discover also the features of different identities, such as migrants, EU citizens, workers of a specific range etc. The social capital provided by the different networks influenced the identity conception, at the same time that the different identities played by the community make them accessible different kinds of social capital.

Besides the local associations and institutions, it is necessary to consider the **Migrants' Associations**; I.e.: the associations integrated by migrants who work to preserve the culture of the migrant group. Those associations became important for the migrant community for four different reasons. (i) They were a reference point for the migrant group, contributing to the cohesion of the group. They provide the migrants with a place for social interaction with people from the same country. That reinforces the social network of the migration system. (ii) These associations are the way in which the migrants find a place for the participation in the public sphere of the city. They act as the spokesperson of the migrants communities on front of the local authorities. Hence they are a way of empowerment of the community, which gain independence in the decision making process to define its own problems and goals. (iii) They connect the local institutions, the migrant community, and the embassies of their countries. As far as they receive support from their embassies, they act also as information providers for the migrant's community, and connect the political formal level of the country of origin with the local institutional level. In this way, considering this migrants associations allow us to open the migration system and integrating new actors. (iv) They have also an important role for the information flow, not only for the former migrant communities, but also for the returnees. In the last years, as a consequence of the wild economical crisis that is suffering Spain, a large number of migrant went back to their countries of origins, or move to other different countries to find a job. The migrants associations reveals useful to keep the flow of information also for those people who once lived in the town. In this way, they continue building and influencing the migration system.

Attending to our fieldwork, it is interesting to see how was the development of the fore mentioned Stara Planina. They started in 2008 within ASAIN, with two main different claims. By the one hand, it was the answer of the Bulgarian community to the will to preserve their language and culture. By the other hand, ASAIN was focused in the integration of different migrations collectives in the different activities. After three years, in 2011, Stara Planina became independent because "we wanted to take our own decisions, make our own projects and manage our money". As far as they succeeded, they integrated also the association and institutions network, taking part in the formal structure before describes. They also work in a close contact with the Bulgarian Embassy, acting as a bridge between the local community, the migrants and the Bulgarian authorities. They started to develop the more typical activities for a migrant

association such as the Sunday School, and dance and folklore group. At the same time, they kept the early influence of ASAIN, trying to involve other migrants and local people in their activities. By this way, they extend the amount of social capital provided for the Bulgarian community, as well as turn the Bulgarian community as social capital relevant for other migrants communities and the local population.

They also play an important role shaping the official image of the Bulgarian community. As spokesperson in front the local institutions, they have the power in the management of the public image of the “Bulgarian”. The public image managed by these associations has changed along the last years according to the different situation. According to the constructive perspective about identity, the discourse shift from a strict “Bulgarian Identity”, to new ways of self-representation as migrants, EU-citizenships, workers etc... These are only some examples of the multiplex layer that can be used to build up the group identity. The use of these layers is not exclusive, but more than one can be used at the same time, stressing at each situation the more convenient facts. This allows them to start to develop some interesting projects at the local level in cooperation with other migrants associations from other countries, far related by cultural ties.

We can consider these migrants associations within the association and institution network. Such network can be regarded as a place of influence in the macrostructure level, attending to the importance of the association integrating the Civil Society, and its place of influence in a taking decision process. By this way, the migrants’ communities have found a way to influence the macrostructure level of the migration politics, as well as the local political sphere(Thouez, 2003).

Such social network between the different associations is a place where the horizontal and vertical relationships are to be seen. A new hierarchy emerges from the interaction of these institutions(Bourdieu, 1989). The positions on the social network are negotiated by the social interaction of the different members. The Bulgarian associations we are studying have succeeded in reaching a high degree of self determination thanks to its active role in the network. However, even if we accept that the position in the network is always the result of a permanent negotiation between the different social actors, there are big structural differences added by the fact that the local institutions have a higher degree of agency in its organization.

The three different kinds of networks describes provides the migrants with a valuable social capital, forming a structural level of interaction. The migrants, considerer from an individual point of view, can access to these possibilities, and develops their own way

among them. We consider that the notion for “personal path”(Finnegan, 1989) is quite useful to explain the tension between the collective and the individual level. It allows us to recognize the importance of the individual agency and capacity of self determination, as well as include the limits of this agency provided by the existence of the network as a whole.

It is useful to understand the migrants association within the association and institutional network because it helps us to consider their role in the migration system, not only in the maintenance the migration process, but also in the integration of the migrant community and the local. Also it allows us to take in consideration the link established between the migration system and the evolution of the process of identity development of the group.

4.- Strategies of integration.

The migration systems, and its different social networks, provide the migrant with a social capital based on the possibility to extend his social network among several stages within the local community. These social networks also have an influence in the identity creation process of the community and of the different persons. Make possible the acquisition of different identity roles, which become important in order to guarantee the integration of the migrant community and the local. However, the interaction between the migrant communities and the local is not a lineal fact, but a multidirectional process. Regarding the migrants associations before described within the associations and institutional level, we can see how the identity process leads to a dialectical process between integration and segregation. Such a process affects in the capacity of the associations to create social capital, influencing the migration system.

The three social networks described link the migrant community with the community of origin, as well as with the local community. The role of the associations becomes relevant in the migration system because provide the social interaction with a structural level, assuring the flow of information between the migrant community, other migrants, and the local associations. At the same time, those associations became a place for the social interaction, making possible the development of new contact which engaged the subject in several new social networks. As far a person get involved in such association, its possibilities of knowing people and getting integrated in the society increase. In this sense, we can considerer the role of the social network as a factor of integration in the daily life.

Getting involved in a migrant association allows the subject to extend the amount of weak ties available. Then he can use his personal skills to turn those weak ties in strong ties. As far as the ties get stronger by the interaction and implication of the members of an association, this association earns a higher degree of internal cohesion. The persons get integrated in the association as well as the association itself reaches a higher stage of cohesion. As far as the association is connected with other association, people involved in an association can benefit the social capital emerged from this interaction. It extends their personal possibilities of integration also in a further level.

Hence, the active role of the migrant association can be considered as a factor of integration for the members of the migrant community. As far as the association is negotiation its position in the general association's level in the town, the position of its members is also changing, highly influenced by this fact. Attending to the case of study of Stara Planina, its high degree of implication in the different activities of the daily life contributes to the integration of the Bulgarian community. Participating in the town festivals, making traditional culture shows and so on can be considered a way to introduce the Bulgarian community to the local society. As far as it happens, the different individual subjects develop their personal itineraries with the favor of this general good image spread due to the different social networks. In this sense, the association is reinforced at the same that it empowers the different members of the migrant community.

This integration is not a reached position, but a dialectical process of continuously negotiation of the position within the society(Stallaert, 2004). As far a group succeeds in the integration and internal cohesion, the stereotype and the migrant layer of identity is reinforced. Hence it enforces the community borders, turning the integration within an association in the segregation from the local society. In this sense, we can speak about segregation. Building strong associations with a strong sense of belonging can also get a way of enclosure of the community on her own. Providing the local society with a collective image of a concrete migration group can be useful for the people, but also enhances the danger of the segregation of the group. While they are stressing the cultural difference, they are reinforcing the group's borders, making then it easy to identify the migrants as the otherness. By this way, the personal integration of the different members turns more difficult. The achievement of the social capital emerged in the migrants association can also introduces these negative consequences. Meanwhile

a person gets involved in an association and is able to access to its amount of social capital, can be losing the access to other wider social capital of the whole society.

So explains one of our informants his decision not to bring his children to the language school. "I don't like people thinking of me as a foreigner. I want my children integrated in society. I speak to them in Bulgarian at home, and I keep the traditions and festivities, but here I prefer them doing a regular. When they get over 18, then they will decide if they want to stay here, go back to Bulgarian, or whatever they want to do. Me, I prefer to stay here. I want be part of this country, so I don't see the point in hanging out with the Bulgarian community."

This dialectical process remains in a continuous movement by the different actions carried out by the different social actors in the social networks. The role of the associations has a big weight in this process because they constitute the formal level. At the same time, they are highly influenced by the particular actions of the members of the migrant community. The different social actors before described, presented in the migration system, play a role in this redefinition of the position of the migrant community within the local community. They handle with different layers of identity (Bulgarian, EU-citizenships, migrants), and those layers are use according with the different situation. In this way, they help with the integration or segregation of the members not only within the migrant group, but also in the local community.

The relationship between the social capital and the identity construction process help us to understand the emergence of integration and segregation dynamics within a community. These dynamics turn relevant to the migration system because they affect to the potential of each network to generate social capital among the local community. As far as this social capital can be fungible in other kinds of capital, it turns important for the former migrant's community to know the possibilities of succeed in the integration process. By this way, the community long settled in a country continues creating relevant information which is transmitted to the origin country, affecting to the maintenance of the migration process.

5.- Concluding remarks

The migration process is a complex of relation between different social actors embracing local community and former country. Using the migration systems approach to research migration continues to be useful despite of its theoretical flaws, taking into account a big range of social actors, including collectives such as associations,

institutions, and networks. The analytical distinction between the different types of networks makes possible to understand the emergence of the social capital and its flow in the system. Simultaneously, this social capital allows us to understand the migrations systems and its networks not only as a migration structure, but also as an integration system with its different strategies.

The role of the networks is relevant in the integration process since it acts as a feedback mechanism that modifies the migration system as a whole. These networks and their social capital they produced are also closely related with the identity. They provide the community with a public image in front of the local community. Also, at a different level, using this network, migrants can play and manage different identity roles which help them to succeed in the personal integration paths. These paths should be considered as a dialectical and dynamic process between the integration and segregation, where the agency of the singular person and institutions is crucial. The position in the local society is not an accomplished statement, but a situation that must be continuously negotiated, according to the changes of the migration system and society. Concurrently, the success in the integration process operates as a relevant feedback mechanism to maintain the migration system as a whole.

Community development is built according to several processes. Providing strategies to integrate migrants in local communities is not only a development imperative, but also a matter of basic human rights. In contemporary Europe, consolidating social ties is a successful way to achieve social progress.

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ANEXO I
PUBLICACIONES COMPLEMENTARIAS

Gender Role Negotiation in the Migration Process. Bulgarian Migrants in Castile and Leon (Spain).

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar el modo en el que se gestan las transformaciones de género en un proceso migratorio. Las migraciones implican el contacto cultural entre varios grupos, lo que afecta a sus señas de identidad y el modo en el que son utilizadas.

En el caso de la comunidad búlgara se observa cómo los roles de géneros se transforman, en un proceso de negociación continuada entre la comunidad inmigrante y la comunidad local.

Esto se muestra mediante el desarrollo de nuevas tareas y mediante la implementación de un nuevo modo de pensar y de actuar. Las Asociaciones juegan en este caso un papel fundamental puesto que se convierten en los foros en los que el género se transforma de manera discursiva, permitiendo la confrontación de las diferentes posturas.



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Gender role negotiation in the migration process. Bulgarian Migrants in Castile and Leon (Spain)

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Abstract

The Bulgarian community is one of the biggest migrants community settled in Castile and Leon (Spain). They have reached a high level of integration in the local terrain. Such integration strongly affects the migrants' way of live, especially concerning to their conception of the roles of gender. The way in which male and female roles are understood by the community have a strong effect in terms of social position and social power. Therefore it is interesting to analyze the gender social construction in Bulgaria and how it has changed within the integration process, thanks to the migrants' associations considered as the arena of the gender role negotiation.

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Keywords: migration; empowerment; community making; negotiation; integration

1. Gender gap and gender conceptions in Bulgaria

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, Bulgaria entered a new age of democracy characterized by several changes in its society. However, the rapid changes occurred at the political stage were not so fast assumed by the local mentality (NIKOLIC-RISTANOVIC, 2002). This difference in the adoption of new ways of understanding the social world is especially evident concerning the gender ideals.

Even though the Socialism proclaimed theoretical gender equality, a big gender gap could be observed in the Bulgarian society. Women's enrollment to the labor market during this period maintained the gender gap since they were employed at lower positions than men (U.N., 2008). At the same time, they remained responsible for the home keeping and the care of the children and family. Those facts were linked with the social gender conceptions,

referring to an ideal women related with motherhood, beauty, and the domestic sphere.

The arrival of democracy was not as good as expected at this point. The economical crisis that suffered Bulgaria brought a lot of shortcuts at the social services provided by the state. Hence, people had to pay for schools and healthcare. Separate women found themselves in trouble, being unable to provide their children the basic commodities. The ideals of the female remained at the same stage as in the period before. That made hard for them to improve their position and overcome the gender gap in the society.

This inequality at the economical and social level has a reflection in terms of gender based violence. Special studies on the field(ELLINGEN, 2008) stated that one of each four women had suffered some kind of domestic violence in their life. However, public opinion still remains unclear about this relevant topic, underestimating this problem. This lack of social recognition is not but the saddest and strongest consequence of the gender inequality under a patriarchal social system.

Some light had been shed over this situation in the last decade. The will to enter in the European Union made Bulgaria to make some relevant decision concerning the social system. On the one hand, the different governments implemented new legislation to improve the social equality. The creation of an Ombudsman and the gender equality politics are one of the most remarkable social laws enacted to fulfill the European requirements(ILIEVA, 2005), reaching the membership in 2009.

On the other hand, the creation of some women associations was a relevant fact to promote the gender equality at the local stage. The fight of the feminist against the gender based violence and the gender gap, helped a lot to redefine the gender roles within the Bulgarian society. They made visible this strong social problem, as well as they provided the women with social networks to empower them within the country.

All those efforts have proved successful, and had a big influence over the social system. However, the old traditional gender role conceptions are still alive. The many achievements reached at the political stage are breaking down the patriarchal model. Hence we can consider Bulgaria as a society in transition towards the gender equality, but still in a men-centered model of organization.

2. Gender and migration

The so called feminization of migration implies that nowadays migration enhances a balanced number of men and women, or even that in some cases women exceed the number of men in some migration systems(MORRISON, 2008; OSO CASAS, 2010). This global trend to the feminization of migration impacts over the gender conception and equality. The presence of women in the migrations flows has changed. At the beginning, most of them appeared as a result of family reunification politics. However, in the last decades the active role of women in the cause of the migration system has been outlined(ZLOTNIK, 1995). Many times they have been found as pioneers themselves, starting the migration chain. At the same time, their participation at the local labor market makes their contribution to the domestic economy crucial to sustain the status of the family.

In this study case, the Bulgarian Migrant community settled in Castile and León shows a balanced proportion between men and women. Women migrating first and becoming pioneers in the migration system is not a rare exception according to the fieldwork. Many times the migration chain started when a woman came to this place looking for a job, usually at the domestic sector. After some time, her family arrived as well taking advantage of the first efforts made by the woman, in order to find a job and to start the integration process at the local stage.

Bulgarian group is not a homogeneous group of migrants. Many differences regarding personal skills and level of education are to be found according the internal differences of the Bulgarian society. However, Bulgarian are usually regarded as cultivated people, and considered as skilled and good workers in the local imaginary. Migrant workers are in place in a low position within the new society. In the case of the Bulgarians who migrated to Spain since the beginning of the XXst century, most of them are hired as non qualified workers, in spite of the fact that many of them have a degree.

The same principle rules for Bulgarian women who reflect as well the Bulgarian internal differences. In the past, some careers were considered as female careers in Bulgaria. That makes that most of the educated women have a degree in Arts, History, Children Education or related fields. However, this qualification doesn't mean a better position in the labor market. As Slavkova pointed out(SLAVKOVA, 2012), most of the educated and skilled Bulgarian women in this area work at unskilled employments, traditionally considered as women jobs such as clean ladies or taking care of children and elders.

Spanish society can be considered as well a patriarchal society. Even though the Spanish legislation about gender

equality and gender based violence is older than the Bulgarian one, equal society from a gender point of view is still a challenge for this country. It is true that many steps have been made in order to empower the women in the national context, but there many differences still observable which lead to think into a patriarchal unequal model.

The gender gap regarding the salaries has reveals deeper after the economic crisis, and a big difference in terms of unemployment's rates are as well reported by the governmental agency. The old female ideal about beauty, family and housekeeping is still alive, in spite of the many efforts done by gender activist in the last here decades. This local gender conception turns relevant for the purpose of this paper because it helps us to show where the female migration is located at the local stage. They are suffering a double process of underestimation by the local population Since they are migrants and women. At the same time, they suffer this underestimation within the migrant society as well because, as foretold, Bulgarian gender conception is quite conservative and patriarchal. That put them in a lower situation not only from an economic point of view, but also from a social one. They are employed at the domestic services sector which most of the times means the informal economy. That makes them invisible to the society, putting them in a position of vulnerability.

Most of the female pioneers interviewed during my fieldwork refer to the domestic services as their first employment in the area. Although, they were usually underpaid, and many times worked at the informal sector, they maintained their jobs until they had money enough to rent a flat and bring their families from Bulgaria. Usually they provided their husbands with relevant contacts to find a job. The case of the Bulgarian women who migrated after their husband was not very different. As their husbands were who act as pioneers in their families, they provided the wives and daughters not only with a place to live, but also with contacts to start working here. These women usually worked as cleaning ladies at the house of their husbands' boss, or cleaning at their workplace. The informal sector was as well a well-known situation for these women.

The employment at the domestic sector improved its conditions after the Domestic Service law promulgated in 2011. It regulated quotes, salaries, and work conditions, providing the women with similar basic rights that people have in the rest of the labor market. It improved the situation of the Bulgarian migrant women who started to have some basic legal support to the job they had been doing for many years. When the crisis started, many of their husbands lost their jobs and many of the families interviewed during my fieldwork turned women supported thanks to this improved situation of the women work conditions. On the one hand, they still remain at this domestic sector, which obviously means a lower social conception of their abilities. On the other hand, in this crisis situation, the regarded as lower employments conditions turn the only way to earn money, and they became the economic support of their families in these difficult times.

However, in spite of these relevant improvements in the work legal frame, most of the times they still continue working at the informal sector, unable to enjoy such advantages. Their dedication to the domestic sector put them in place of vulnerability, depending on the goodness of their employer to be able to enjoy their rights.

This work situation, besides the symbolic conception of the women within the Bulgarian community, places the female women in a potential position of social risk. At the beginning of the XXIst Century, NGO's working for migrants at the local stage focused their energies in two main challenges: the learning of Spanish, and to acquire specific task in order to find a job. Usually, men were directed to jobs related with the construction sector. On the contrary, women were directed to the domestic sector. The training courses offered by the NGOs focused on the domestic service. Hence, it perpetuates the gender role conception, reinforcing the gender symbolic difference between men and women in the migration process.

Those NGOs were quite conscious of the vulnerability position of the female women. For this reason, they arrange specific programs directed to women in order to empower them in the community, usually working together with the Governmental Agencies. They were one of the most relevant social actors claiming for the Domestic Work Law which provide women at the domestic service with the basic work rights.

The described situation along the migration process places the women in a lower position than the men, regarding the economic sphere. Even though, it is not a reached static situation, but a dynamic position which change according the social changes. Economic crisis suffered in the last years made some women the economic support of their families meanwhile the men are unemployed. This highlights the inherent complication of a gender position analysis in a migration process, and the necessity to take into account many different social factors.

3. Migrants' Associations and Gender Role Negotiation

Bulgarian community in Castile and Leon is the second biggest group of migrants based in this area. In the first years after their arrival to the area, they turn to local NGOs for assistance in their new social community. Around

2005 the first Bulgarian Associations started to appear in this region. These associations are quite relevant for the daily life of the migrant group. On the one hand, they provide the migrant with a social network at the local stage. On the other hand, they maintain the former traditions alive in the migration context. For this reason, it is possible to consider them between the two realities: Bulgaria and Spain. This medium position turns quite relevant in terms of gender analysis.

For analytical purposes, I will consider here the notion of ethics developed by McIntyre (Mc. INTYRE, 2007). His analysis about the emergence of the moral sense links the notion of virtue with the formation of the personality within the social community. Ethics is related with the social network where the individual interacts, and not an abstract and universal rule. Making ethics a question of praxis was a way to make it dependent on the social context. Following this theoretical direction, I consider that the notion of what is right and what is wrong is related with the communal notion shared by the community. In the case of the gender, the different roles conceptions, from a pragmatic point of view, are as well a social product and not a mere theoretical individual approach. The migrants' associations are the community where the traditional gender role conception from the former country, and the traditional role conceptions at the new stage interact, emerging the new migrants' gender notions.

Bulgarian Associations are an important social network for the migrants' daily life. Their challenge is to provide the Bulgarian community with the required help not only for their integration process, but also to maintain their fore culture and traditions. They provide people with help to fulfill the required bureaucratic affairs, mediation with the institutions and relevant information. At the same time, they develop several activities to maintain the traditions and language from Bulgaria in the new local context. For this reason, they turn quite relevant for the migrants, as far as they act as a network where people can develop relationships which turn important in terms of social capital (ADLER, 2002; BOURDIEU, 1989; DE HAAS, 2010; PUTNAM, 1993) to find a job, find a house, or solve regular situations derived from the migration process.

Associations turn especially relevant in terms of gender social power. Bulgarian Migrants' Associations develop several activities related with culture and help. The two most relevant are the folk dance groups and the Sunday Schools. Dance groups, following the trend in Bulgaria, are composed by men and women. If it is true that women engaged in these groups more frequently, but men dancing in a professional way are not an exception. In fact, many of the most famous choreographers in Bulgaria and abroad are male. In this sense, there is not a big gender role difference to be outlined.

Regarding the Sunday School, things are very different. These schools are established with the support of the Bulgarian Government in order to maintain the use and knowledge of the language and culture of Bulgaria among the migrants' second generation. They are a relevant place for the families who want to teach their children how to write Cyrillic, and the different festivities and ritual from their former country. As mentioned above, most of the educated female migrants have a degree on Bulgarian Language or Bulgarian history, which make them to be the teachers of their own community. As Slavkova (SLAVKOVA, 2012) outlined, most of the women appreciate a lot the possibility to teach language, history and culture at the Sunday School. Taking into account that they are employed at non qualified workplaces, this possibility to teach is regarded as a way of personal success within the community. They become a relevant person for their own group thanks to their own personal education.

This reveals a gender based conception about culture and school, which continues along the migration process. Considered closer to the cultural level than the men, women are in the position to arrange the different festivities and rituals for the community. It is itself a source of social power, as far as it provides them with a relevant position within the community, meanwhile they become the people who take part in the decision making processes. But the relevance for the gender role conception goes one step forward. Being those who make the relevant decision, they usually have the role of leadership in the Associations. Most of the Bulgarian Migrants' Association in Castile and Leon are ruled by women. Hence, women become the visible head of the community.

Carrying on activities of leadership at such kind of association is a complex job which implies political and economic power. As leaders of the Bulgarian Association, they are the spokesperson for the local authorities. They usually have meetings with the city Institutions, but also with the Regional institutions. They know where to go to claim for resources in order to guarantee the right development of the different activities of their associations. At the same time, they have to work with the Bulgarian institutions such as the Embassy and its Culture Section to arrange the scholar courses, and to provide their schools with the financial and legal support of their governments. Managing the Sunday School involves a big budget which means a high responsibility degree expected from the leaders of the Association.

That makes them to be considered reliable as well for other politics affairs such as the arrangement of the

different campaigns with the politicians when there are elections in Bulgaria, or the electoral process itself for the Bulgarian settled aboard. In my ongoing research, due to the next European Elections, the most relevant Bulgarian candidates have visited our region, meeting the different Associations. The picture of the leaders surrounded by these female leaders of the associations is not a rare exception. In this sense, the Associations provide the women with political, economic and social power, which transform their position in the community, impacting in the gender role conception and ideals due the empowerment of the women.

This transformation of the female role implies as well a consequent transformation of the male role conception. For this reason I consider quite relevant to understand the Associations as a social arena where the different roles conceptions are constantly discussed. They provide the community with a place for meeting and information exchange. The most frequent image is to see the parents drinking coffee during the lessons at the Sunday school. These long coffees are communicative relevant moments where many daily live details are discussed. The discussion about the different gender roles and conception is not a rare exception. Most of the times, men and women have long discussions where the different gender role conceptions are placed in the center of the conversation. For example, some women argue that they would rather like to share the domestic responsibility, as the “Spaniards do”. However, other women state that they prefer a “real men who can protect them, as the Bulgarian do”.

On the other hand, a change in the female role conception implies automatically a change in the male role. Due to the economic crisis many men have lost their jobs, becoming their wives the economic support of the domestic unit. On these situations, men tend to get more involved in the domestic life, caring for the children, preparing meals etc. This is a relevant change concerning the gender conceptions, but it is not enough to reach the social equality for women and men. It could happen that these changes remained at the private level, being unable to promote the gender equality within the group.

The mentioned relevance of the Associations turns especially evident at this point. It is absolutely necessary that both, women and men, carry on a deliberative process of redefinition of the gender roles. As well as Habermas (HABERMAS, 1998) showed the relevance of spaces of discussion to guarantee the viability of democracy, gender roles need to be widely discussed within the community in order to become real alternatives to each individual who belong to the group. It is in the social arena of the association where the private solutions to the gender transformations acquire a factual and pragmatic dimension, shaping the new gender models for the whole community.

The dissension observed between men and women regarding gender conceptions due the social and economical transformation is a deliberative process of redefinition of the former cultural ideas and the ongoing conceptions. This reinforces the empowerment female process started in the pragmatic way of working of the association itself.

4. Concluding remarks

In this paper I have showed the relevance of the Migrants associations as the arena where the gender role conception are discussed and transformed. First of all, it is important to take into account the former gender ideas based on patriarchal model.

Speaking about a migrant group like the Bulgarian, we have to consider both, the Bulgarian and Spanish traditional gender conception in order to understand the process. The Spanish gender conception perpetuates the patriarchal vision of the migrant group due to the labor market offered to migrant women. That lead us to discover migrant women in a position of double vulnerability due to the traditional former conception of their country, and the traditional gender role displayed at the local level. That places them in lower and non qualified employments, most of the time in the informal sector.

Bulgarian Associations provide the women with the possibility to enlarge their social capital, acting as a source of politic, economic and social power. Thanks to their academic formation, Bulgarian women turn relevant to maintain the culture, language and traditions of their communities. That is the base of the leadership role played by them. This starts the process of women empowerment at the core of the migrant community.

Such process leads to a transformation of the female and male conception within the community. The association appears as the arena where these transformations can be discussed in a practice way, reinforcing the empowerment process by shaping the new cultural gender definition. That can be understood as a deliberative process where the new gender conceptions with a pragmatic dimension for the community emerge.

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Language in use in the Cyberspace. Between Bulgarian and Spanish language.

Este artículo analiza el papel del idioma en el proceso de integración, mostrando como un uso estratégico sirve, por un lado, para fomentar la sensación de pertenencia al grupo de inmigrantes y, por otro lado, para favorecer la integración en la comunidad de acogida. Fue originalmente publicado en Búlgaro. Se ha adjuntado una traducción al inglés del artículo completo que se realizó para darle mayor difusión en la esfera académica.

El uso del lenguaje es un asunto fundamental en los grupos de inmigrantes. En el caso de Bulgaria, la preocupación de la primera generación por mantener su idioma en uso está fuertemente vinculada con su concepción de la identidad que se apoya en la el idioma. Es por eso que las asociaciones de búlgaros promocionan escuelas de fin de semana en las que poder enseñar el idioma y el alfabeto cirílico a las generaciones más jóvenes.

El ciberespacio se convierte en un lugar bastante controvertido en términos lingüísticos, debido en gran medida al papel que desempeñan las redes sociales en el proceso migratorio y en el proceso de integración. En la actualidad, las redes sociales se han convertido en una de las fuentes de información más consultada, de tal manera que los perfiles sociales son la carta de presentación de los grupos de inmigrantes más importantes.

En este artículo se analiza fundamentalmente el uso del lenguaje en el perfil social de la Asociación Stara Planina de Valladolid. Esta asociación realiza numerosas actividades a lo largo del año a las que invita de forma sistemática a la población local. De este modo, con el desarrollo de estas actividades persigue mejorar su integración. Al mismo tiempo, estas actividades cumplen el objetivo de fortalecer la sensación de pertenencia al grupo.

Esta tensión se traduce en el uso el idioma. Así, de forma general, se escribe en castellano y en búlgaro en aquellas situaciones que se consideran de interés más general, mientras que en el caso de determinadas festividades nacionales, el idioma preferido es el búlgaro, reduciéndose de forma considerable la explicación en español. En otras circunstancias sucede al contrario y es mayor la explicación en castellano que en

búlgaro debido a que las actividades van encaminadas a difundir la cultura búlgara entre la población local.

Las reacciones del grupo de inmigrantes búlgaros respecto al uso del lenguaje o del alfabeto cirílico ilustran en gran medida en el alto grado de integración alcanzado por esta comunidad y el uso estratégico que se realiza del idioma en pos de esa integración.

Language in use in the Cyberspace.

Between Bulgarian and Spanish in a migrant community.

Alberto Alonso-Ponga García, Salamanca University (Spain)

Introduction

This paper will enface the question about the use of language by a migrant community in the cyberspace, showing its relation with the integration process, the cohesion of the migrants' group, and the maintenance of the links between the migrants' community and their former country.

First of all, the use of the language in the daily life will be explained. As far as the Bulgarian community seems to be high skilled in the use of Spanish, to use Bulgarian or Spanish became an interesting election to research about. In this paper I will show how this election of the language can be considered as strategic attending to the different situations.

Secondly, I will explain the role of the social networks based on internet for a migrants' group. From an anthropological point of view, these networks can be understood as social capital providers which turn relevant for the daily life of individual. They are connected with the integration process, as well with the flow of information which keeps the migration system working.

Thirdly, I will analyze the use of language in these social networks focusing in the expected audience. Through three examples of public profiles it will be shown how relevant is the election of a language in the cyberspace. The strategic use of Spanish or Bulgarian language allows the Bulgarian Migrant community to improve their integration process, to reinforce their internal cohesion, and to be linked to their former community.

About the field

The following paper will present some aspects and results from my PhD research about the Bulgarian community settled in Valladolid (Spain). This PhD started on September 2012 under the wise advice of Prof. Dr. María Jesús Pena Castro at Salamanca University (Spain). The fieldwork here reflected has been done in Valladolid. It is a

medium sized town (350.000 inhabitants) in the region of Castile and León. The Bulgarian community in this region is quite relevant. Until year 2009, Bulgarian migrants' were the first group in number of people, surpassed after this year by the Romanians. For this reason, it attracted the attention of many social researchers (IBÁÑEZ ANGULO 2007; SLAVKOVA 2012; STANEK 2009; VIRUELA MARTÍNEZ 2008).

In the case of the town of Valladolid, Bulgarian are still the biggest group, followed by eh Rumanian. There are also a lot for migrants from different countries from South America who have Spanish as their mother language. Not only their number, but also their high degree of integration is what makes the Bulgarians an attractive collective to research about. Local authorities as well as local population have a good opinion about Bulgarian. Actually, most of them are developing personal life's projects without people knowing where they from are. My Phd research is focused in the different strategies developed by both, local and Bulgarian society, to reach this integration stage.

This research is done following a qualitative approach, where participant observation and field diary are the main tools. Also informal interviews and documental analysis has been done during research. I am carrying out this research project following the deontological code of the American Anthropology Association. All the Facebook profiles here mentioned have been reflect after explicit permission of my informants.

Bilingualism in progress

Language is considered one of the most important tools of humanity. It allows us to communicate ideas to each other. It is the way to build and share ideas, which make the symbolic world where the culture is developed. Its importance relays on the fact that it not only is used to transmit ideas, but also to build new ones. It influences people way of thinking (WITTGENSTEIN 1999)

Language refers to the speech community, the community where people can share ideas due their use of a language or jargon. In this sense, language is strong related with the social interaction of the people, placed in the core of the society. People usually belong to more than one speech community (PATRIK L. 2002)as well as they belong to different communities and social networks in their daily life. These communities can be

found among users of the same language who use different jargon, where some concrete expressions gain a different meaning than in the standardized language. In the multilingual societies, speakers are usually skilled to use different languages which allow them to take part into different speech communities. This second situation is to be observed in some regions in Spain and among the migrant's communities.

The town where is based this research is located in a monolingual area where Spanish (or Castilian) is the official language. A good command of Spanish is required to fulfil the legal documents, to attend to the school, go to the doctor and to solve any practical situation at the local institutions. Local population uses this language in every situation in their daily life. In spite of the different uses of the language that we could find in the town, we can consider that Valladolid is a Castilian speech community. Even we should take into account the fact that people proudly speak about the proper use and pronunciation of the Spanish in the town. It shows that language is not only a way to communicate to each others, but also an important part of the identity construction of the town.

This view of a monolingual society should be redefined considering the high number of migrant settled in the town. The different waves of migration in the last fifteen years led to the settlement of people with different cultural backgrounds, who speak in different languages. These groups of migrants develop their own speech communities in the town, changing this monolingual and static idea of the town presented above. Hence, considering the town and its inhabitants in general, it would be better to present it as a multilingual situation where Spanish has the hegemonic and official position and is shared by all the inhabitants, while the other languages are used in the restricted social space of the migrant's speech communities.

It could be possible to understand it as a serial of *bilingual communities*, where the Spanish is always speak as the *lingua franca*, as well as the official language at the local stage. Skills on Spanish language are required to be able to take part in the local life, as well to be able to communicate with people from a different migrant group. Meanwhile, the mother language becomes relevant within the migrant group. Each migrant community has to develop a strategic use of the mother language and the Spanish, in order to be able to maintain the ties inside the community, as well as to succeed in the integration process. The good command of the local language is an important factor

close related with the integration and the emotional comfort of the migrants (MAEVA 2012; PORTES 1994)

Regarding the Bulgarian community, we can assets that the majority have a good command of Spanish. Even when they are skills differences according to economical and cultural differences, most of them can express their selves easily, having a high degree of integration in the daily life of the town. They use Spanish language in the regular situations like at the school, at the work place, at the local administration etc. Most of them have developed a social life with local people or with other migrants. In this case, it is relevant to explain that Spanish is the most used language among the migrants' in the town due the high number of migrants' from Spanish speaking countries in South America. For this reason, they also use Spanish language in their free time, while drinking coffee with friends, going for a walk, practicing sports. Even when they have strong ties with other Bulgarians, they often enjoy leisure with local people or in mixed groups where Spanish is always spoken.

The use of Bulgarian language is restricted to those activities which take place in the private level; activities in which only Bulgarian people are involved. The private level can be understood in a double dimension: the community and the domestic one. On the one hand, considering the migrant's community as a group, Bulgarian is used in those activities directed for the Bulgarian population and arranged by one of the official Bulgarian Associations based on the town. On the other hand, considering the domestic dimension, private level refers to the interaction inside the family, or the friends' groups, where Bulgarian is used. It is important to point out that even in these situations in which Bulgarian is spoken, there are always some Spanish words to hear like the Spanish expression "Y ya está" used instead the Bulgarian expression "И така".

This different use of each language attending to the different kind of situation means that the more the people relate to others only at the so defined private level, the more the Bulgarian language will be spoken. Since the Spanish has a hegemonic position, there are more regular situations where this language will be chosen instead of the Bulgarian. A high degree of integration requires a good command of Spanish and, at the same time, it reinforces the level of Spanish by it usage. This is more obvious regarding the young people. As far as they have been educated on the national system, the Spanish language is dominating their daily life. In some situations, they even use Spanish when they are

talking to other young Bulgarian people because for them it is a natural way of expressing themselves. Families try to keep the Bulgarian in use in their private sphere, and some collective strategies to preserve the Bulgarian have been developed by the community like their Sunday School.

Considering Valladolid as a case of bilingualism included in a monolingual frame, the election of the language becomes a relevant fact to study among the migrant groups. The good command of Spanish among the Bulgarian community shows its high degree of integration at the local stage. At the same time, the restricted use of Bulgarian turns relevant to understand the life of the community at its private level. The language has both a pragmatic and a symbolic dimension and its use becomes a part of the strategic of migrants' integration process.

Social life and Cyberspace

New technologies have increased their importance in the daily life in the last three decades. The famous mass media and the use of Internet reached a central place in the daily life, having a big influence in people's social life. The use of internet became a relevant skill in order to be integrated in this world. Being able to use internet allows the individual to connect himself with other people, to find useful information, to access to a wide world where everyone seems to be potentially connected to everything. Due to its power as social transformation tool, anthropologists and other social researchers have focused their attention to it (WILSON M. 2002)

Cyberspace appears as a new field for research, being at the same time, a cultural production and the place for the new cultural production. The different approaches on the new technologies move between the pessimistic view to the optimistic one. The first one points out the fact that internet offers a false image of the world, where the notion of real and not-real must be redefined. (FERNÁNDEZ PALOMARES 2003) Here we could find the position of Derrida and his concept of hyperreality, which stress the ontological ambiguity of the cyberspace. The second one stresses the potential of internet for people finding useful information, getting in touch with people, and accessing to different contents and cultures. Beyond this ontological discussion, the fact is that internet became an important fact to take into account doing social research.

For the purpose of this paper, it would be useful to pay attention to the potential relation between the use of internet and the social life of the different people and groups. Regarding the social networks in internet from an anthropological point of view, it is worthy to consider them under the traditional social network approach (LIN 1999; MILROY 1992; MITCHELL 1969; TICHY 1979). Hence, cyberspace can be regarded as a particular kind of space where people are linked to each other. A kind of community is established where we can analyze the sense of belonging, the links between the members, and also the emergence of identities like in the real world.

If the attention goes more precise over the social networks such as Facebook, we can focus the question about the relationship between the cyber community and the real life. This social network is one of the most used among young people, and enhances the particularity that mixes the real life network with the cyber community. Most of the people use this network not only to keep in touch with close friends, relatives, workmates, and people from their real environment, but also with people with shared interests, even if they never meet in person. Facebook can be used to reinforce existent relationships, and to establish new one with new people.

This characteristic use of social networks can be considered as a social ties provider. People develop a net of weak social ties that can be activated due the strategic use of internet, reinforcing these ties which can be needed depending on the situation. In this sense, the analysis made about social networks and links between people fits perfectly to this case of study (PUTNAM 1993) (ADLER 2002; BOURDIEU 1989; THOUEZ 2003). Individual use of social networks give them the possibility to develop a wide net of weak ties, which can turn into strong ties due to personal social skills of individual. Hence, we can considered that social networks provides the individual with a social capital which can turn useful in many daily situation like arranging free time plans, travelling, finding a job, finding information and many other features. The relevance of the social networks relays on the fact that they can extend the personal networks, increasing the weak ties and the potential social capital for people engaged on them. The success on transforming these weak ties into strong ones relays on the personal skills to the management of this potential social capital.

Considering this different uses of social networks based on Internet, Cyberspace can be considered as one relevant element not only of the migration process, but also of the

integration of the migrant population. For this reason, it requires a strategic use that allow the individual to keep its ties with its former community, as well as to develop and reinforce the ties with the local community where is now based on. A skilled use of internet becomes important for the migrants, offering them a valuable amount a social capital in their former communities as much as in the settlement country. As far as in internet are shared a lot of ideas, and those ideas are expressed writing posts, the strategic use of language in internet reveals relevant in the migration research.

Migration, language and Cyberspace

Considering a migrant community, the use of internet and the social networks based on it turns especially relevant. The extended use of internet and the new technologies allows them to maintain a close contact with the people of their former communities, like relatives and friends. The relevance of the social capital managed by the cyber interaction has been highlighted by the Bulgarian community settled in Valladolid.

Most of my informants pointed out the phone calls on internet as one of the most relevant facilities for them. When they started to arrive to Valladolid, around year 2000, the use of internet was not so extended. They remember themselves phoning home once or twice a month, even though most of them came alone and spend the first years without their families. The possibility to use internet for the phone calls make them cheaper, and they became one of the most relevant event in the daily life. In this sense, migrants consider that the use of internet increased their quality of life because they can call home at any time when needed without worrying about money. That makes them feel more comfortable in their daily life.

Beyond this personal comfort gained due this easy way to contact home, the social networks like Facebook play also an important role in the migration analysis. These networks allow people to keep in touch with people of the former communities without the need of calling or concrete social interactions. Being linked through Facebook makes it possible for them to see pictures from old friends and relatives, to see where they are, some parts of the daily life like situations at work, family or free time activities. This builds the background for a potential social interaction that can turn this weak relationship into a strong one. It reveals especially relevant when they are

planning trips to visit their families and friends, increasing their comfort also in their visit to their home places.

It is also important to consider the relevance of internet from the migration system point of view. The notion of system applied to the research of migration has been widely discussed in the last decade, making this concept and its use quite complex (ARANGO 2003; Bakewell 2012; Bakewell 2011; DE HAAS 2010; MASSSEY 1993). Even when the discussion about the pertinence of considering the migration process as a system or not is amazing interesting, it surpasses the target of this paper. For analytical reasons we are considering here a migration system in its more classical definition: as a system that links the former community and the migrant community, and the different processes and strategies that keep this migration flow in progress. In a system so defined, the flow of information has been pointed out as one of the most relevant factors in order to maintain the migration process. People who arrive to a place rapport about their lives to their former communities and, if the situation is positive, more migrants start to arrive developing a migrant system. The use of internet transformed the flow of information. It increased in a quick way. Social networks offer relevant information to many people at the same time, having a big influence in the migration process.

The relevance of internet in the flow of information has been object of research about migrations (DEKKER 2012). Internet became relevant for those who were still in the former community, providing them with useful information which helps them in the process of decisions making in order to start the migratory process. It allows them to shape some ideas about their future life in the country of destination, readjusting their expectative. In the last years, due to the economic crisis suffered in Spain, a lot of migrants started to consider the possibility of going back to their origin countries, or to continue with their migration project in a different country. Here Internet is again relevant providing information about the life of those who decide to return. Some of my informants mentioned several times how they use internet to keep in touch with their friends who returned to Bulgaria in the last two years, and “to see how they are doing. It is true that with the crisis it is difficult to have a job in Spain, but you never know if it is better in Bulgaria. I see my friends’ profiles on facebook, the pictures, and then I can see if they are really doing well there”.

Considering as information provider, Internet is one of the tools of the migrations systems that decreases the risk in the migration process. Being able to see how people are doing turns helpful for those who are in the process of decision making to move or not to move, as much as for them who are about to start with their migration process, as for those who are considering to go back to their places. Cyberspace becomes a place between the country of origin and the migration country which can tie both of them, keeping the flow of information.

Beyond this important fact related with the migration process, we can also take into account the relevance of internet and social networks in the integration process. As mentioned above, social network based on internet like Facebook have the characteristic that are useful to reinforce social ties and networks developed in the real world. Usually people enjoy themselves uploading pictures of daily life, comment status of friends and workmates, and sharing music and information about free time activities. It turns relevant regarding the use of migrants because they have to be able to interact not only with the people from their former community, but also with the local people of their migration country. Interacting in internet with the local people includes them in this local network, offering them a big amount of weak ties at the local stage. These ties can turn strong and relevant, becoming a worthy social capital that have a big influence in their integration process.

Once we consider the role of the social networks based on internet in the migrations system and in the integration process, we can start to analyze the strategic use of these social networks by the migrant's community. From an anthropological point of view, cyberspace becomes an interesting field for research the different attitudes and strategic developed by a migrant community in order to fulfil these two objectives. In this case, we are focusing in the use of language, connecting it with this integration will, as well with the maintenance of the links with the former community.

In spite of the many differences between the different Facebook profiles, all of them share one relevant characteristic: information is wide spread, and becomes accessible for a big range of expected and unexpected people. We can consider this group of people as the audience of the profile. When we are considering personal profiles, there are several ways to control the privacy of the different uploads and publications. Each user determines by himself his own privacy, attending to his own reasons. On the

contrary, when we consider the public profiles (i.e. institutions), these are public, and all the information provided by them is accessible to an undetermined range of people. In these cases, the control of the privacy is not considered as a good procedure because the will is to promote the image of the institution. Hence, this public profiles turn quite interesting for social research. By the one hand, we can explore the way in which they try to focus their audience. By the other hand, we can analyze which audience actually they have. In the case of the migrants groups, this audience can be regarded as this social network of weak ties, in which the information is shared, as well as serve to the integration o the group.

Here they will be presented three different publics profiles of the Bulgarian Association Stara Planina. This Association is one of the four Bulgarian Associations based on Valladolid. It is the biggest one, and develops a lot of different activities along the year, like the celebration for different Bulgarian festivities like the Martenitza, Kiril and Methodium Day or Christmas. They also have a group of Folk Dances called “Ritmos de Fuego” (Rythms of Fire), and a Sunday School called Училище По Български Език "Свети Свети Кирил И Методий. There are three different public profiles, one for the association itself, one for the Dance Group, and one for the School.

The election between Bulgarian and Spanish in each of the profiles and situations shows how important it is the strategic management of the language in the cyberspace in order to guarantee the integration and to maintain the links with the former community. Beyond these two targets, the analysis of the use of language in these profiles show a third objective: the cohesion and maintenance of the migrant group itself. These three profiles are public and accessible to everyone. They are going to be presented as follow with the express permission of Stara Planina.

Profile of Училище По Български Език "Свети Свети Кирил И Методий": this profile is used by the members of the Sunday school to publish about their different activities at the school. They report about the time-tables, offer information about the different bureaucracy expected to attend to the lessons, and upload pictures of the different events arranged along the scholar year like the Opening session, the Christmas Festival or Poetry Exhibitions. The information offered on it is directed to the Bulgarian community interested in bringing their children to the School. Hence, all the posts are written in Bulgarian, using the most correct form of the Kirilic alphabet. People who

interact with it also use Bulgarian language to comment the pictures, to ask questions etc. Even when it is directed to the Bulgarian migrants settled in the town, some comments made by people settled in Bulgaria are to be found. Often it happens after the publication of pictures of the different events, and most of the comments are made by relatives of the children. However, it is also useful for those people who decide to move to Valladolid. It offers information about the developed infrastructure by the Bulgarian community for the Bulgarian community. As far as Sunday Schools are considered one of the most efficient tools for the maintenance of the Bulgarian language in the second generation, it is a relevant factor for some of the families. Hence, the information offered to the local group turns relevant also within the migration system.

The Facebook Profile of Ritmos de Fuego: This profile shows information about the folkdance group of the association. They offer information about the different dance lessons, the different events and new dances they are arranging, and upload pictures of the dance exhibition where they take part. Although the profile's name as well as the general information is written in Spanish, most of the posts are written in Bulgarian. Even when they accept local people dancing with them, the daily profile's upgrades are done in Bulgarian. Their intention is to spread the information about the dance group among the Bulgarian migrant community. Most of them have told me that they were happy having local people in the group, but after all the relevant information is offered only in Bulgarian.

If we make a comparison with the information offered in the school's profiles, we can see that this one is less formal. More social interaction is to be seen. They usually use the profile to talk about the weekly meetings in an informal way. Sometimes we can see Bulgarian written with Latin alphabet, and then some people complaining about this fact. A correct writing is not so strict observed, as well as occurs in a personal profile where young people interact. Some characters can be omitted to share time and space, as usually happens when posting from a smart phone. It is worthy to stress the fact that is one of the few places where young people use Bulgarian as the written language to establish a communicative interaction. This information can be considered as relevant for the migration system because implies the development of social infrastructures, its main target are the migrant community settled in Valladolid. In this case, the Facebook profile can be considered as a useful tool to reinforce the internal coherence of the migrants' group.

The Facebook profile of Stara Planina: this profile offers general information about the association, as well as about the different activities arranged by them and by the Sunday school and the Dance group. The name of the profile is a Bulgarian name but written with Latin alphabet. The general information of the profile is written in Spanish. They also offer relevant official information from the Bulgarian Embassy, like information for the National Elections in the last year 2013. Most of the post published on this profile are written in Spanish language, and after translated into Bulgarian. The earliest posts are published firstly in Spanish, and sometimes were translated into Bulgarian using the Latin alphabet. After some people complained, they started to use always the kirilic alphabet. Even sometimes the information is only written into Spanish, and people have to ask for a translation. This use of language is relevant regarding the target of this Association, and the audience of its profile.

On the one hand, this Association wants to introduce the Bulgarian culture at the local stage. They point out that they don't want to be isolated, but to work with other migrants and other people in Valladolid. For this reason, they arrange a lot of activities along the year, and they always try to invite the local population to take part on them. They use Spanish language in order to increase their possibilities to become known among the local population. On the other hand, this information is crucial to the migration system. It is the most relevant profile in order to plan a migration process to the town, and many people refer to it when they are asked about how they knew about the association. Its offer a general view about the collective life of the Bulgarian community settled in Valladolid. Such a view turns relevant in the decision making process for the potential migrants. Even people who are not potential migrants but close friends or relatives of the migrants in Valladolid, check this profile to see about them. For this reason the Bulgarian translation are required when post are written in Spanish. In this case, Facebook can be considered as a tool for the integration of the Bulgarian community in the town, as well as a tool to spread information in the migration system.

These three different Facebook profiles show the different use of the language in the cyberspace attending to the expected audience. A strategic use of Bulgarian or Spanish is required in order to succeed in the integration, the cohesion of the migrants' group, and in the flow of information in the migrations system. The use of language becomes relevant in the management of the social networks based on internet. Hence, the use of language will also affect to the potential weak ties and social capital that the migrant

community can achieve due its use of Internet. To choose a language or another is relevant attending to the target of the concrete profile because it allows them to communicate with a determined group of people, which implies a determined social capital.

It is also relevant to point out that the relationship between the language and internet is more complex. As shown above, the management of the social networks can be a tool to preserve and to reinforce the role played by the mother language among a migrant community. Posting in Bulgarian at the dance group profile, for example, can be considered as one the few cases in which the second generation uses the Bulgarian language to communicate ideas in their daily life. The maintenance of the language on the second generation is relevant for those who start the migration process because they want their children being able to communicate with their relatives in Bulgaria. For this reason, the social analysis of the internet based network can be a fruitful field for the researchers on migration.

Concluding Remarks

Along this paper I have tried to present the migrants and the strategic use of language in the cyberspace. From an anthropological point of view, language is a relevant topic while researching about migrations. Learning the language of the settlement community is necessary to succeed in the integration process. At the same time, there is a will to maintain the mother language alive in the migrants' community. It is relevant for the migrants' group because is the way to guarantee the communication with the former community. For this reason, both languages are relevant in different stages of daily life.

If we understand modern societies like a so explained serial of bilingualism communities, it is relevant to point out a strategic use of language. The election between the mother language and the settlement language will be done to achieve two main targets: the integration of the community in the settlement country, and the maintenance of the ties between the migrants' community and its former country. Hence, it is interesting to explore which language is used in each context, and how this use is changing according with the different social situations.

Internet is a relevant tool in the daily life of most of the people in the modern societies. It allows the communication of ideas in massive way. Social networks based on internet can be considered in their relationship with the real world social networks, analyzing the synergies between them. It can be said that they somehow extend the real life networks, binding different people from different contexts. In this sense, the internet networks provide the individual with a big amount of weak social ties that can turn into strong and useful ties due the personal skills of the individual. Therefore, it can be considered that cyberspace can provide the individual with a valuable social capital that is useful in many situations in the daily life.

This social capital provided by social networks based on internet is also relevant for the migrants' communities. The management of these social networks can be useful to maintain the links with the former community, to reinforce the integration process of the group in the settlement society, and to reinforce the internal cohesion of the migrants' group itself. Hence, a strategic use of these social networks is also observed to fulfil these three objectives.

The use of the language is related with the expected audience of the different social networks, showing the relation between the migrants' community, the settlement community and the former community. They will use the settlement society's language when they are focused in the integration process. Meanwhile, the use of their mother language is to be observed when they are relating to each other, or when they are offering relevant information for their own community. This is the way in which language in the cyberspace turns a tool for the integration, the cohesion of the community, and the communication with the former society.

At the same time, cyberspace becomes a tool to reinforce the use of the mother language among the migrant community. In a situation as described where the group has a high degree of integration, many of the regular social interactions use the settlement language as the preferred one. This turns especially relevant among young people and the second generation who attended to the national education system. Posting in social networks is one the ways in which their written mother language becomes useful for them. In this sense, the management of the cyberspace can be considered as a strategy to reinforce the use of the mother language in the migrants' community.

The migration process requires a wise management of both economic and social resources. This management is strongly related with a successful integration in the new society as well as in the community construction. Cyberspace becomes a relevant place for social interaction where the migration process continues, being reinforced by the cyber interaction between the members of the migrant's group.

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БЪЛГАРСКА АКАДЕМИЯ НА НАУКИТЕ
ИНСТИТУТ ЗА ЕТНОЛОГИЯ И ФОЛКЛОРИСТИКА
С ЕТНОГРАФСКИ МУЗЕЙ

ДОБРЕ ДОШЛИ В
КИБЕРИЯ
ЗАПУСКИ ОТ ДИГИТАЛНИЯ ТЕРЕН

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Институт за етнология и фолклористика
с Етнографски музей – БАН

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ДОБРЕ ДОШЛИ В КИБЕРИЯ! ЗАПИСКИ ОТ ДИГИТАЛНИЯ ТЕРЕН

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Алберто Алонсо-Понга Гарсия

Въведение

Настоящата статия поставя въпроса за употребата на езика от мигрантските общности в киберпространството, неговата връзка с процеса на интеграция, сплотяването на мигрантската група и поддържането на взаимоотношения между мигрантската общност и нейната родина.

Първо ще разгледам употребата на езика във всекидневния живот – доколкото изглежда, че българската общност в Испания владее испански на добро ниво, употребата на български или испански език се оказва интересен за изследователя избор. В текста ще покажа как този избор на език може да бъде разглеждан като стратегически подход в различни ситуации.

След това ще обясня ролята на интернет социалните мрежи за мигрантските групи. От антроположка гледна точка тези мрежи може да се разбират като предоставящи социален капитал, подходящ за размяна във всекидневния живот на отделния човек. Те са свързани с процеса на интеграция, както и с потока на информация, който поддържа миграционната система работеща.

Накрая ще анализирам употребата на езика в социалните мрежи, фокусирайки се върху очакваната им аудитория. Чрез три примера на публични профили ще бъде показано колко важен е изборът на език в киберпространството. Стратегическата употреба на испански или български език позволява на българската мигрантска общност да развие процеса на интеграция, да подсили своята вътрешна сплотеност и да поддържа връзката с предишната си общност.

За терена

Статията ще представи някои аспекти и резултати от моето докторантско изследване на българската общност във Валядолид, Испания. Докторантурата ми започна през септември 2012 г. под ръководството на проф. д-р Мария Хесус Пена Кастро в Университета на Саламанка. Теренната ми работа беше проведена във Валядолид – средно голям град (ок. 350 хил. души) в региона Кастилия и Леон. Българската общност в този регион е значителна – до 2009 г. тя е най-голямата мигрантска група, изместена след това от румънската, затова и привлича вниманието на много социални изследователи (Slavkova 2012, Stanek 2009, Viruela Martínez 2008, Ibáñez Angulo 2007).

Що се отнася до Валядолид, българите все още са най-голямата група, следвани от румънците. Има и множество мигранти от различни страни от Южна Америка, чийто майчин език е испанският. Не само техният брой, но и нивото им на интеграция прави българите интересен изследователски обект – местната власт, както и населението имат добро мнение за българите. Всъщност повечето от тях развиват личните си житейски проекти, без хората да знаят откъде са. Моето изследване е фокусирано върху различните стратегии за достигане на сегашното ниво на интегрираност, развивани и от местните, и от българската общност.

Изследването е направено на базата на качествения подход, при който включеното наблюдение и изследователският дневник са водещи инструменти. Също така направих и неформални интервюта и документален анализ. В изследването си съм следвал деонтологичния код на Американската антроположка асоциация и всички споменати фейсбук профили са отразени след изричното съгласие на моите информатори.

Билингвизъм в развитие

Езикът е смятан за един от най-важните инструменти на човечеството – той ни позволява да комуникираме помежду си, той е начинът за изграждане и споделяне на идеите, съставлящи символния свят, в който се развива културата. Значението му се основава на това, че не само служи за предаване на идеи, но и за създаване на нови. Езикът оказва влияние и върху начина на мислене на хората (Wittgenstein 1999).

Езикът е свързан с езиковата общност – общността, в която хората могат да споделят идеи, благодарение на езика или жаргона. В този смисъл, езикът е тясно свързан със социалното взаимодействие между хората, намиращи се в ядрото на обществото.

Обикновено хората принадлежат към повече от една езикови общности (Patrik 2002), както принадлежат и към различни общности и социални мрежи във всекидневния си живот. Тези общности могат да бъдат открити сред ползващите общ език, които употребяват различен жаргон, където някои конкретни изрази получават различно значение спрямо стандартизирания език. В мултиезични общества говорещите обикновено умеят да използват различни езици, което им позволява да участват в различни езикови общности. Тази втора ситуация може да бъде наблюдавана в някои региони на Испания и сред мигрантските общности.

Градът, в който настоящото изследване е проведено, се намира в моноезиков район, където испанският (или кастилският) е официалният език. Изисква се добро владение на испански за попълването на официални документи, за посещаването на училище или на лекар и изобщо за справянето с каквито и да било практически ситуации с локалните институции. Местното население използва този език във всяка ситуация от своя всекидневен живот. Въпреки различните употреби на езика, които могат да се открият в града, можем да смятаме, че Валядолид е кастилска езикова общност. Дадже трябва да имаме предвид, че хората с гордост говорят за правилната употреба и произношение на испанския в града. Това показва, че езикът не е просто начин за комуникация, а и важна част от идентичността на града.

Този поглед към моноезичното общество трябва да бъде преосмислен с оглед на големия брой мигранти в града. Различните миграционни вълни през последните петнадесет години водят до заселването на хора с различен културен бекграунд, говорещи различни езици. Тези групи мигранти развиват техни собствени езикови общности, променяйки моноезиковата и статична идея за Валядолид, представена по-горе. И така, имайки предвид града и неговите обитатели изобщо, по-добре ще бъде да го представим като мултиезикова среда, където испанският език има водеща и официална позиция и е споделен от всички жители, докато другите езици се използват в ограничените социални пространства на мигрантските езикови общности.

Би било възможно градът да се разбере като поредица от *двуезични общности*, където испанският език винаги се говори като *lingua franca*, както и като официален език на локално ниво. Владенето на испански е необходимо за включването в местния живот, както и за комуникацията с хора от различни мигрантски общности. Междувременно майчиният език остава релевантен в рамките на мигрантската група. Всяка

мигрантска общност трябва да развива стратегическа употреба на майчиния и на испанския език, за да може да поддържа вътрешнообщностните връзки, както и да успее в процеса на интеграция. Доброто владение на местния език е важен фактор, тясно свързан с интеграцията и емоционалния комфорт на мигрантите (Maeva 2012, Portes 1994).

Що се отнася до българската общност, можем да твърдим, че повечето владеят испански език на добро ниво. Дори когато уменията им се различават заради икономически или културни особености, повечето от тях могат да се изразяват лесно и са интегрирани на добро ниво във всекидневния живот на града. Те използват испански език в обикновени ситуации като в училище, на работното място, в местната администрация и пр. Повечето от тях развиват социални контакти с местните или с другите мигранти. В този случай е уместно да обясним, че испанският е най-използваният език сред мигрантите в града заради високия брой мигранти от испаноговорещи страни от Южна Америка. Затова българските мигранти използват испански и в своето свободно време, докато пият кафе с приятели, ходят на разходка, спортуват. Дори когато имат здрави връзки с други българи, те много често прекарват свободното си време с местни хора или в смесени групи, в които винаги се говори испански.

Употребата на български език е ограничена в рамките на дейности от сферата на личното, дейности, в които са включени само българи. Частното ниво може да бъде разбирано в две измерения: общността и домакинството. От една страна, разглеждайки мигрантската общност като група, българският се използва в тези дейности, които са насочени към българското население и които се организират от една от българските асоциации в града. От друга страна, визирайки домашното измерение, личното ниво се отнася до взаимодействие вътре в семейството или в приятелска общност, където българският език се използва. Важно е да се отбележи, че дори в тези ситуации, в които се говори български, винаги могат да се чуят някои испански думи или изрази като „у уа está“, използван вместо българския „и така“.

Тази своеобразна употреба на езика, насочена към различен вид ситуация, означава, че колкото повече хората общуват помежду си в така определеното частно ниво, толкова повече употребяват български. Доколкото испанският език има хегемонна позиция, съществуват повече обикновени ситуации, в които той би бил предпочетен пред българския. Високото ниво на интеграция изисква добро ниво на владение на испански и същевременно чрез употребата на испански неговото владение се подобрява.

Това е по-видимо при младите хора. Доколкото те са получили образование в националната система, испанският доминира в тяхното всекидневие. В някои ситуации те използват испански дори когато говорят с други млади българи, защото това е естественият им начин на изразяване. Семействата се опитват да пазят българския, като го използват в частната си сфера, а и общността развива някои колективни стратегии за запазване на езика като неделното училище например.

Разглеждайки Валядолид като серия от билингвизми, включени в монолингвистична рамка, изборът на език сред мигрантските групи е релевантен обект на изследване. Доброто владение на испански сред българската общност показва високото ѝ ниво на интеграция в локален план. В същото време, ограничената употреба на български език се оказва важна за разбирането на живота на общността в частната сфера. Езикът има едновременно практическо и символично измерение и неговата употреба става част от стратегията в процеса на интеграция на мигрантите.

Социален живот и киберпространство

През последните три десетилетия новите технологии повишават значението си във всекидневния живот. Популярните медии и употребата на интернет достигнаха централно място в ежедневието, имайки голямо влияние върху социалния живот на хората. Използването на интернет стана важно умение в процеса на интеграция в света. Умението да се използва интернет позволява на отделния човек да се свърже с други хора, да намери полезна информация, да има достъп до широкия свят, където всеки изглежда потенциално свързан с всичко. Заради силата му на инструмент за социални трансформации, върху него се фокусират антрополози и други социални изследователи (Wilson 2002).

Киберпространството се явява ново изследователско поле в качеството си едновременно и на културен продукт, и на място за нова културна продукция. Различните подходи към новите технологии се движат между песимистичния и оптимистичния поглед. Първият подчертава това, че интернет предлага грешна картина на света, където представата за реално и нереално трябва да бъде предефинирана (Fernández Palomares 2003). Тук можем да открием позицията на Дерида и неговата концепция за хиперреалност, която акцентира върху онтологичната двусмисленост в киберпространството. Втората гледна точка поставя ударение върху потенциала на интернет, където

хората могат да намират полезна информация, да се свързват с други хора, да достъпват различни съдържания и култури. Зад тази онтологична дискуссия е фактът, че интернет стана важен факт, който трябва да се има предвид в социалните изследвания.

За нуждите на тази статия полезно ще бъде да се обърне внимание на потенциалната връзка между употребата на интернет и социалния живот на различните хора и групи. Имайки предвид социалните мрежи в интернет от антроположка гледна точка подходящо е да ги разглеждаме през традиционния подход на социалната мрежа (Lin 1999, Milroy 1992, Tichy 1979, Mitchell 1969). Следователно киберпространството може да бъде разглеждано като отделен вид пространство, където хората се свързват помежду си. Създава се общност, в която можем да анализираме чувството за принадлежност към нея, връзките между членовете ѝ, а също така и проявата на идентичности, точно както в реалния свят.

Ако разгледаме по-внимателно социалните мрежи като Фейсбук, можем да се концентрираме върху въпроса за взаимовръзката между киберобщност и реален живот. Тази социална мрежа е сред най-използваните от млади хора и усилва спецификата си да смесва мрежата от реалния живот с киберобщността. Повечето хора използват тази мрежа не само за да поддържат връзка с приятели, близки, колеги и хора от реалната си среда, но също така и с хора, с които споделят общи интереси, дори и да не са се срещали никога. Фейсбук може да бъде използван за подсилване на вече съществуващи, но и за установяване на нови връзки.

Тази характерна употреба на социалните мрежи може да бъде осмислена като предоставяща социални връзки. Хората развиват мрежа от слаби социални връзки, които могат да бъдат активирани чрез стратегическо използване на интернет, подсилвайки онези от тях, които в зависимост от ситуацията може да се окажат необходими. В този смисъл анализът на социалните мрежи и връзките между хората перфектно пасва на настоящото изследване (Thouez 2003, Adler 2002, Putnam 1993, Bourdieu 1989). Индивидуалната употреба на социалните мрежи дава възможност за развиване на широка мрежа от слаби връзки, които могат да се превърнат в силни чрез персоналните социални умения на индивида. Следователно можем да заключим, че социалната мрежа предоставя на индивидите социален капитал, който може да се окаже полезен в много всекидневни ситуации. Релевантността на социалните мрежи се основава на това, че те могат да разширят персоналните мрежи, увеличавайки слабите връзки и потенциалния

социален капитал на ангажираните в тях хора. Успехът в трансформирането на тези слаби връзки в силни е свързан с личните умения за мениджмънт на потенциалния социален капитал.

Имайки предвид тези различни употреби на социалните мрежи в интернет, киберпространството може да бъде разглеждано като важен елемент не само в мигрантския процес, но и в интеграцията на мигрантското население. По тази причина се изисква стратегическа употреба, която позволява индивидът да задържи своите връзки с предишната си общност, както и да развива и да подсилва връзки с местната общност, в която се е установил. Вещата употреба на интернет става важна за мигрантите, предлагайки им значим социален капитал в техните предишни общности, както и в страната на установяване. Доколкото в интернет се споделят много идеи и тези идеи се изразяват чрез писане на постове, стратегическата употреба на езика в интернет се оказва релевантна в изследването на миграциите.

Миграция, език и киберпространство

От гледна точка на мигрантските общности употребата на интернет и базираните на него социални мрежи се оказва особено важна. Разширената употреба на интернет и на новите технологии им позволява да поддържат близък контакт с хората от предишните им общности като роднини и приятели. Значимостта на социалния капитал, управляван чрез кибервзаимодействия, е подчертана от българската общност, установила се във Валядолид.

Повечето от информаторите ми изтъкват интернет телефонията като едно от най-значимите за тях удобства. Когато започнали да пристигат във Валядолид, около 2000 г., употребата на интернет не била чак толкова широка. Те си спомнят как са се обаждали вкъщи веднъж или два пъти в месеца, въпреки че повечето от тях са дошли сами и са прекарвали първата си година без семействата си. Използването на интернет за гласови обаждания ги прави по-евтини и ги превръща в най-важните събития от всекидневието. В този смисъл мигрантите смятат, че използването на интернет е повишило качеството им на живот, защото могат да се обаждат вкъщи винаги, когато имат нужда, без да се притесняват за парите. Това ги кара да се чувстват по-комфортно във всекидневието си.

Отвъд този персонален комфорт, достигнат благодарение на лесния начин за контакт с къщи, социалните мрежи като Фейсбук играят също важна роля в анализа на миграциите. Тези мрежи позволяват на хората да поддържат връзка с членовете на бившите си общности, без да има нужда да се обаждат или да предприемат конкретни социални взаимодействия. Връзката през фейсбук им дава възможност да разглеждат снимки на стари приятели и роднини, да узнават къде те се намират, да имат достъп до части от техния всекидневен живот като работни моменти, семейство или дейности от свободното време. Това изгражда среда за потенциални социални взаимодействия, които могат да превърнат слабите връзки в силни. Това се оказва особено важно, когато планират пътувания за посещение на семействата или приятелите си, повишавайки и комфорта при посещенията им по родните места.

Също толкова важно е да разгледаме значението на интернет от гледна точка на миграционната система. Идеята за система, приложена към изследването на миграцията, е широко дискутирана през последните десетилетия, правейки тази концепция и нейната употреба доста сложни (Bakewell 2012, 2011, De Haas 2010, Arango 2003, Massey 1993). Макар и дискусиата за това дали е уместно миграционният процес да се мисли като система или не да е изключително интересна, това надминава целта на статията. Поради аналитични причини тук ще разгледаме миграционната система в нейната по-класическа дефиниция: като система, която свързва предишната общност и мигрантската общност, и различните процеси и стратегии, които са посочени като едни от най-значимите фактори с цел поддържане на миграционния процес. Хората пристигат на дадено място, разказват за живота си на своите предишни общности и, ако ситуацията е позитивна, започват да пристигат повече мигранти, развивайки миграционната система. Употребата на интернет трансформира информационния поток, който нараства много бързо. Социалните мрежи предлагат важна информация едновременно за много хора, имайки голямо значение за миграционния процес.

Значението на интернет в информационния поток е било обект на изследване във връзка с миграциите (Dekker 2012). Интернет става значим за тези, които все още се намират в първоначалната си общност, осигурявайки им полезна информация, която им помага в процеса на вземане на решение дали да започнат процес на миграция. Позволява им да формират представи за бъдещия си живот в набеязаната страна, коригирайки техните очаквания. В последните години, благодарение на икономическата

криза, обхванала Испания, много мигранти започнаха да обмислят възможността да се върнат в родината си или да продължат мигрантския си проект в друга страна. И тук интернет е важен, предоставяйки информация за живота на тези, които решават да се върнат. Някои от моите информатори споменаха няколко пъти, че използват интернет, за да поддържат връзка с техните приятели, които са се върнали в България през последните две години, и „да видят как са. Вярно е, че с кризата е трудно да имаш работа в Испания, но никога не знаеш дали ще е по-добре в България. Виждам профилите на моите приятели във Фейсбук, снимките, и така мога да видя дали наистина са добре там“.

Ако разглеждаме интернет като доставчик на информация, то той се оказва един от инструментите на миграционните системи, които понижават риска в миграционния процес. Възможността да видят как живеят хората се оказва полезна за тези, които са в процес на вземане на решение дали да се преместят или не, както и за тези, които се подготвят да мигрират, или пък тези, които обмислят дали да се върнат. Киберпространството се оказва пространството между страната на произход и страната на миграция, което може да ги свърже, поддържайки информационния поток.

Отвъд този важен факт, свързан с миграционния процес, можем да вземем предвид и значението на интернет и социалните мрежи в интеграционния процес. Както беше споменато по-горе, социалните мрежи, базирани в интернет, като Фейсбук са полезни за подсилване на социални връзки и мрежи, развити в реалния свят. Обикновено хората обичат да публикуват снимки от ежедневието си, да коментират статусите на приятели и колеги, да споделят музика и информация за свободното си време. Това се оказва важно, имайки предвид употребата му от мигрантите, защото те трябва да имат възможността да взаимодействат не само с хората от бившата си страна, но и с местните в страната на миграция. Взаимодействието в интернет с местните ги включва в локалната мрежа, предлагайки им голям брой слаби връзки на местно ниво. Тези връзки може да бъдат трансформирани в силни и значими, превръщайки се в ценен социален капитал, имащ голямо въздействие върху интеграционния им процес.

Веднъж осмислили ролята на социалните мрежи в интернет върху миграционната система и интеграционния процес, можем вече да започнем анализа на стратегическата употреба на тези социални мрежи от страна на мигрантските общности. От антроположка гледна точка киберпространството става интересно поле за изследване на

различните нагласи и бива стратегически развивано от мигрантските общности за изпълнението на тези две цели. В този случай ще се фокусираме върху употребата на езика, като я свържем с желанието за интеграция, както и с поддържането на връзката с родната общност.

Въпреки многото разлики между отделните фейсбук профили, всички те споделят една важна характеристика: информацията бива широко разпространявана и е достъпна за голям диапазон от очаквани и неочаквани хора. Можем да наречем тази група хора публика на профила. Когато разглеждаме личните профили, има няколко начина за контрол на конфиденциалността на различните съдържания и публикации. Всеки потребител определя сам достъпа до личните си данни според собствените си виждания. Обратното – когато разглеждаме публични профили (т.е. институции), те са публични и цялата информация, предоставяна от тях, е достъпна за неопределен кръг от хора. В тези случаи контролът върху конфиденциалността не се счита за добра практика, защото желанието е да се популяризира образът на институцията. И така, тези публични профили се оказват много интересни за социални изследвания. От една страна, можем да изследваме начина, по който те се опитват да фокусират своята аудитория. От друга – можем да анализираме каква аудитория всъщност имат. В случая на мигрантските групи тази аудитория може да бъде разглеждана като социална мрежа от слаби връзки, в която се споделя информация, но и служи за вътрешна интеграция на групата.

Тук ще представя три различни публични профила на българската Асоциация „Stara Planina“. Тази асоциация е една от четирите български дружества във Валядолид. Тя е най-голямата и развива много разнообразни активности през годината като празнуване на различни български празници – 1 март, 24 май, Коледа. Към нея функционират и група за народни танци „Ritmos de Fuego“ (*Огнени ритми*) и неделно училище (Училище по български език „Свети свети Кирил и Методий“). Съществуват три отделни публични страници – една на самата асоциация, една на танцовата група и една на училището¹.

Изборът между български и испански език във всяка от страниците показва доколко е важен стратегическият мениджмънт на езика в киберпространството с цел да се гарантира интеграция и поддържане на връзка с родната общност. Отвъд тези две

¹ Фейсбук профил на асоциацията – facebook.com/AsociacionStaraPlanina; профил на танцовата група – facebook.com/ritmosdefuego; профил на училището – facebook.com/svetisvetikirilimetodii (бел. ред.).

цели, анализът на употребата на езика показва и друго: кохезията и поддържането на самата мигрантска общност. Тези три страници са публични и достъпни за всеки. Те ще бъдат представени по-долу с изричното разрешение от страна на „Stara Planina“.

Фейсбук страницата на Училище по български език „Свети свети Кирил и Методий“² се използва от членовете на неделното училище за публикуване на техните различни дейности. Там се съобщават графиците, предлага се информация за официалните гости, които ще посетят уроците, и се публикуват снимки от различни организирани събития като откриването на учебната година, коледното празненство или изложби. Предложената там информация е насочена към българската общност, заинтересована да запише децата си на училище. И така, всички постове са написани на български език, използвайки най-коректната форма на кирилицата. Хората, които взаимодействат с тази страница, също използват български език за коментари на снимките, задаване на въпроси и т.н. Дори когато обръщението е към българските мигранти в града, могат да се открият коментари на хора от България. Обикновено това става след публикуване на снимки на различни събития и повечето коментари са направени от роднини на децата. Все пак това също е полезно за хората, решили да се преместят във Валядолид. Тук се предлага информация за развитието на инфраструктурата от българската общност за българската общност. Доколкото неделното училище е считано за един от най-ефикасните инструменти за поддържане на българския език сред второто поколение, то се оказва важен фактор за някои семейства. Следователно информацията, предлагана на местната общност, се оказва релевантна и в рамките на миграционната система.

Фейсбук страницата на *Ritmos de Fuego* съдържа информация за групата за народни танци, функционираща към асоциацията. Тя предлага сведения за отделните уроци по танци, разни събития и нови танци, които организира, и публикува снимки на танцовите прояви, в които се включва. Въпреки че името на страницата, както и цялата информация е на испански, повечето от постовете са на български език. Дори когато приемат местни да танцуват с тях, ежедневните обновявания на страницата се правят на български. Намерението им е да разпространяват информация за танцовата група сред българската мигрантска общност. Повечето от тях са ми казвали, че са щастливи да имат местни в групата си, но въпреки всичко важната информация е само за българи.

² Във Фейсбук името на училището се изписва по този начин: *Училище По Български Език „Свети Свети Кирил И Методий“* (бел. ред.).

Ако направим сравнение с информацията, представена на страницата на училището, можем да видим, че тук тя е по-неофициална. Наблюдават се повече социални взаимодействия. Обикновено страницата се използва, за да се говори за седмичните срещи по неформален начин. Понякога можем да видим български, изписан на латиница, и след това някои потребители да се оплакват от това. Правилното изписване не се следи стриктно, както се случва и в персоналните профили, където младите хора контактуват. Някои знаци могат да бъдат пропуснати за икономия на време и пространство, както обикновено се случва при ползването на смартфон. Важно е да се подчертае, че това е едно от малкото места, където младите хора използват български като писмен език за установяване на общностни взаимодействия. Тази информация може да бъде разглеждана като значима за мигрантската система, защото предполага развитието на социалните инфраструктури, основната ѝ цел е мигрантската общност във Валеядолид. В този случай фейсбук страницата може да бъде разглеждана като удобен инструмент за засилване на вътрешната сплотеност на мигрантската група.

Фейсбук страницата на „Stara Planina“ предлага основна информация за асоциацията, както и за различните дейности, организирани от нея и от неделното училище и танцовата група. Името на страницата е българско, но е изписано на латиница. Общата информация в профила е написана на испански. Може да се намери и важна официална информация от българското посолство като новини за националните избори през 2013 г. Повечето от постовете, публикувани на страницата, са написани на испански и след това преведени на български език. По-ранните постове са публикувани първо на испански и понякога превеждани на български с латински букви. След като няколко души се оплакват, администраторите започват да използват само кирилица. Дори понякога информацията е само на испански и хората трябва да искат превод. Тази употреба на езика е релевантна предвид целта на асоциацията и аудиторията на страницата.

От една страна, членовете на асоциацията искат да представят българската култура на местно ниво. Те изтъкват, че не желаят да бъдат изолирани, а да работят с другите мигранти и местните във Валеядолид. По тази причина организират много дейности през цялата година и винаги се опитват да поканят местното население да се включи в тях. Използват испански език, за да повишат възможностите си да станат разпознаваеми сред местните. От друга страна, тази информация е от ключово значение за миграционната система. Това е най-релевантната страница в контекста на планиране на миг-

рационален процес към града и много хора се позовават на нея, когато ги питат как са разбрали за асоциацията. Тя предлага общ поглед към колективния живот на българската общност във Валядолид. Такъв поглед се оказва важен в процеса на вземане на решение от потенциалните мигранти. Дори хора, които не са потенциални мигранти, а просто приятели или роднини на мигрантите във Валядолид, проверяват тази страница за информация за близките си. Затова българският превод е необходим, когато постовете са написани на испански. В този случай фейсбук може да се разглежда като инструмент за интеграция на българската общност в града, както и за разпространение на информация в мигрантската система.

Тези три различни фейсбук страници показват специфичната употреба на езика в киберпространството, насочена към някаква предполагаема аудитория. Стратегическата употреба на български или испански се налага с цел успешна интеграция, вътрешно сплотяване на мигрантската група и протичане на информационния процес в мигрантската система. Употребата на езика става релевантна в мениджмънта на социалните мрежи в интернет. Така употребата на езика също би повлияла на потенциалните слаби връзки и социалния капитал, който мигрантската общност може да постигне чрез интернет. Изборът на един или друг език има значение за изпълнение на целите на конкретната страница, защото позволява на администраторите ѝ да комуникират с различни групи хора, което предполага различен социален капитал.

Трябва да отбележим и че връзката между език и интернет е по-сложна. Както беше показано по-горе, управлението на социалните мрежи може да бъде инструмент за запазване и подсилване на ролята, която майчиният език играе сред мигрантската общност. Публикуването на български в страницата на танцовата група например е сред малкото случаи, в които второто поколение използва български език за всекидневната си комуникация. Поддържането на езиковата компетентност на второто поколение е важно за тези, които стартират миграционен процес, защото те искат децата им да имат възможност да комуникират с роднините си в България. Затова социалният анализ на интернет базираните мрежи може да бъде плодотворно поле за изследователите на миграциите.

Заключителни бележки

В настоящата статия се опитам да представя мигрантите и стратегическата употреба на езика в киберпространството. От антроположка гледна точка езикът е релевантна тема в изследването на миграциите. Изучаването на езика на местната общност е необходимо за успешната интеграция. В същото време е налице и желание за поддържане на родния език жив сред мигрантската общност. Той е важен за мигрантската група, защото е начин за гарантиране на комуникацията с бившата общност. Затова и двата езика са важни в различни сфери на всекидневния живот.

Ако разбираме съвременните общества като серия от билингвистични общности, важно е да изтъкнем стратегическата употреба на езика. Изборът между майчиния и местния език ще бъде направен за постигане на две важни цели: интеграция в общността на селището и поддържане на връзките между мигрантската общност и родината. Следователно интересно е да се изследва кой език в какъв контекст бива използван и как тази употреба се променя при различните социални ситуации.

Интернет е важен инструмент във всекидневния живот на повечето хора в съвременните общества. Той позволява мощна комуникация на идеи. Социалните мрежи в интернет могат да бъдат разглеждани в тяхната връзка с реалните световни социални мрежи, анализирайки синергиите помежду им. Може да се каже, че те някак си продължават мрежите от реалния живот, свързват различни хора от различни контексти. В този смисъл интернет мрежите предоставят на индивидите голямо количество слаби социални връзки, които могат да бъдат трансформирани в силни и полезни връзки чрез индивидуалните умения на отделния човек. Затова би могло да се смята, че киберпространството може да снабдява индивидите със значим социален капитал, който е полезен в много ситуации от всекидневния живот.

Социалният капитал, набавян чрез социалните мрежи в интернет, е също релевантен за мигрантските общности. Управлението на тези социални мрежи може да бъде полезно за поддържането на връзките с изпращащата общност, за подсилването на процеса на интеграция на групата сред местната общност и за подкрепа на вътрешното сцепление на самата мигрантска общност. Следователно може да се забележи, че стратегическата употреба на тези социални мрежи също служи за изпълняването на тези три цели.

Употребата на езика е свързана с очакваната аудитория на различните социални мрежи, показвайки връзката между мигрантската общност, местната общност и родната общност. Мигрантите ще използват езика на приемното общество, когато са фокусирани върху процеса на интеграция. Междувременно употребата на майчиния език може да се наблюдава, когато се отнасят един към друг или когато предлагат важна информация на своята общност. Това е начинът, по който езикът в киберпространството се превръща в инструмент на интеграцията, сплотяването на общността и комуникацията с изпращащото общество.

Същевременно киберпространството става инструмент за подсилване на употребата на майчиния език сред мигрантската общност. В ситуация като описаната, когато общността се характеризира с високо ниво на интеграция, много от обикновените социални взаимодействия протичат на местния език. Това се оказва особено важно сред младите хора и второто поколение, които се включват в националната образователна система. Публикуването в социалните мрежи е един от начините, по които техният писмен майчин език е полезен за тях. В този смисъл менажирането на киберпространството може да бъде мислено като стратегия за подсилване на употребата на майчин език сред мигрантската общност.

Миграционният процес изисква мъдро управление едновременно на икономическите и социалните ресурси. Мениджмънтът е тясно свързан с успешната интеграция в новото общество, както и в самата мигрантска общност. Киберпространството става важно място за социално взаимодействие, където миграционният процес продължава, бидейки подсилен от кибервзаимодействието между членовете на мигрантската общност.

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From Bulgarian to European: The Role of Interculturalism in the Identity Construction of Migrant Communities.

El objetivo de este artículo es explorar la relevancia de las estrategias de integración desarrolladas por las comunidades de inmigrantes y las consecuencias que estas estrategias tienen en los procesos de construcción identitaria. Para ello se analiza el caso de estudio de la comunidad búlgara asentada en Castilla y León.

En primer lugar, se muestra la relevancia de las estrategias locales de desarrollo comunitario y el modo en el que influyen en la vida cotidiana de los inmigrantes. Para ello se estudiará el papel de las asociaciones de inmigrantes que se promocionan desde las instituciones locales. Estas asociaciones cumplen una doble función. Por un lado, moldean la comunidad de inmigrantes. Por otro, dan forma a la propia sociedad en general en la que se integran, puesto que se convierten en un medio para la participación en la escena local y en los procesos de toma de decisiones que se efectúan en ella.

En segundo lugar, se analiza la relevancia de los discursos globales del interculturalismo que provienen en su mayoría de la política común establecida por la Unión Europea. Es interesante ver el modo en el que estos discursos son entendidos por parte de la población local. La gestión de la inmigración se convierte en un caso de estudio relevante puesto que ilustra una problemática global, cuya respuesta descansa sobre las autoridades locales. Estas entidades locales tienen que dar una respuesta concreta a una situación concreta que se trata de ver desde la óptica de la interculturalidad. Esto permite obtener perspectivas de análisis interesantes para las sociedades occidentales del mundo actual.

En tercer lugar, se investiga el modo en el que estos dos discursos influyen en los procesos de creación identitaria de las comunidades de inmigrantes. En este caso de estudio, la identidad se mueve entre presentarse como simplemente búlgaros, como inmigrantes o como ciudadanos europeos. Es interesante ver cómo la habilidad para utilizar cada uno de estos roles maximiza las posibilidades de integración del colectivo.

From Bulgarian to European: The Role of Interculturalism in the Identity Construction of Migrant Communities.

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Key words: migration, community development, identity, interculturalism, Bulgarian.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to explore the significance of integration strategies developed by migrant communities and its consequences on the identity construction process. In order to do that, we will analyse the study case of the Bulgarian Community in Castile y Leon.

First of all, we will consider the importance of the local strategies of community development, and how they affect to the migrants daily life studying the function of migrants' associations. By promoting the creation of different migrants' associations at the local level, a specific model of social organization has been implemented. Hence, these associations play a double role, shaping the migrant communities and at the same time, building up the local community itself, as far as they enable the participation of the migrants in the local decision making processes.

Secondly, we are analysing the relevance of the global discourses of interculturalism promoted by the European Union, and the way in which they are assumed by the local population. The migration management is an interesting field to research the way in which the global logic of the interculturalism merges with the local logic and the concrete requirement and necessities of the local community. Understanding how these different discourses affect this integration process provides us with a useful framework to understand the modern societies.

Thirdly, we are researching the way in which these two discourses affect to the identity making processes of the migrants' communities. The case of the Bulgarian settled in Castile and Leon provide us with an interesting case of study where their identity swings from the mere *Bulgarians* to migrants, to European Citizens. The wise management of these three layers of identity facilitates to understand the group making processes in the complex society of our contemporary world.

Community development, interculturalism and integration network.

Migration has become one of the most outstanding social facts in the contemporary world. The number of people moving around the world increases year after year, rising the complexity of the societies. Since the last decade of the XX century, Spain became a country of destination for many people who considered that this country offered them the possibility to improve their life conditions (Rengifo Calderón & Oporto del Olmo, 2005). At the beginning of the XXI century Castile and Leon increased its popularity among migrants, especially for those who came from the east European countries.

Many other regions became relevant in terms of migration before this one, because of the labour market requirements (Moreno Fuentes, 2007). Madrid, Valencia, Cataluña and País Vasco have been the most desired destinations in the last two decades due to the amount of jobs related with industry and tourism. However, Castile and Leon is not an industrial area in the country, nor as touristic as the seashore. In fact this region is characterized by medium sized towns and many small villages where there are not so many job vacancies to find. Its economy is traditionally based on agriculture, and not in industrial development.

Nevertheless, this area has found in migration a way to face the challenge of an ageing population. Promoting the arrival of people turns into a strategy to fight against the low rate of population. For this reason, it started to arrange specific strategies to attract migrants as a solution to its demographic problem. Meanwhile other areas in Spain were in the need of people to enter in the labour market, Castile and Leon had the increase of population as the main goal to accomplish. Hence, migrants' integration turned the core of their migration politics, in order to become a permanent place of residence.

According to the Spanish legislation, Migration General Laws are promoted by the country government, but they need to be developed at the local level. Castile and Leon has its own migration legislation which acquires the concrete form at the local level of the towns and villages. Legal framework requires the migrants to be registered at the local council to have access to the national health system and to the public schools. For this reason, specific and concrete actions carried out at the local level become quite relevant for the migration settlement.

Many towns and villages were conscious about the relevance of migration and promote some community development strategies to improve the integration process, shaping a new society (García Álvarez, 1984; VV.AA., 2010). Usually, these strategies were implemented by the municipality council and a different amount of NGO's, emerging a network to provide migrants with different services and to promote their integration in the local society. In this sense, migration and integration strategies are not an exception. NGO's and associations are relevant social actors in the civil society in Spain, who work together to arrange the many different aspects of local life. In this case, the influence of the local patterns of organization can be observed as well in the organization of migrants' life style.

These NGO's and local political agency provide the migrant population with different services, such as free Spanish language lessons, legal support, intercultural mediation expertise, job training and also some economic support for different basic aspects of the daily life. For this reason they develop a relevant position in the migrants' life, evolving into social centres where migrants meet each other (Thouez, 2003). The aim of these reception network composed by the city council and the NGO's is to promote the integration of the new inhabitants in the local context. Spanish learning and making new acquaintances in the town are the most outstanding strategies to achieve this goal. Therefore, this network gives relevance to some concrete places in the urban landscape which turn relevant to shape the migrants' community.

The reception network itself promotes the formation of many different migrant's associations as a tool of local development. By this way, a formal migrant network emerges which is useful not only in terms of reinforcing the migration process, but also for the purposes of the local agency to integrate the migrants. Through the associations migrants become a relevant social actor at the local level, starting a process of co-working with the local associations and NGO's. They can be regarded as a way to organize the social life of the different migrants' communities at the same time that they guarantee the participation of the migrants in the daily life of the different towns.

The fact that these association are built in the context of the reception network makes them to inherit the rules and principles of the local level. One of the most relevant guideline of work is the interculturalism(Degregori, 1999; Hernández, 2005). This has been the main ideology in the last decades after the many problems showed by the multiculturalism ideology applied before. Both ways of conceiving social coexistence of different collectives with different cultural identities are based on the aim to promote the integration and communication of different collectives at the same time that they protect the cultural particularities of each of them. Multiculturalist focuses on the protection of the cultural differences, being hardly criticised by many politicians and social scientists because of the fact that it puts the group rights over the individual.

Interculturalism tries to avoid this problem, promoting the cultural difference but in a different sense, stressing the communication between the different collectives, shaping a framework of tolerance and equality between the different communities. It can be understood as the legal warranty to express and maintain cultural differences at the same time that enable people from other communities to take part in the own group activities. Interculturalism focuses in the promotion of cultural differences but accessible for each member of the whole society. That facilitates the integration of the different migrants' collectives due the participation of different people in their activities but at the same time has been criticised because it implies the commodification of cultural identities. Cultural particularities reach a controversial position between their roles as community makers and product of consumption for other members of the local community.

This way of migration management is not an original local initiative but the reflection of the general framework promoted by the European Union. The European contexts enfances the challenge of building a society based on a general and shared notion of citizenship and, at the same time, on the maintenance of the different cultural identities. For this reason it enhances many different political structures where the identities can be expressed, where different guidelines to promote the particularities and where the right of difference is assured, while also ensuring equality between the members of the different groups. The implementation of this way of understanding social life at the political level influences the way in which cultural identities are shaped and expressed by the different groups and countries.

Regarding this fact, we can understand the local strategies of development and integration in Castile and Leon as a crossroad between the global logic of interculturalism and the logic of the local context where civil society is based on the common work of different associations. The challenge of migrants' integration has

found a kind of solution in the promotion of migrants' associations which take part in the local life as well as the local associations do. That shows the relevance of the global theoretical perspectives in terms of migration and the local particularities of social organization. At the same time, has a big influence shaping the migrants' community itself, enabling for them spheres of participation in the local scenery. Interculturalism implements a dynamic framework where the cultural particularities are stressed meanwhile equality and tolerance is assured. That makes the different migrants' communities to develop their activities between the equality and tolerance in the local context and the reinforcement of their own groups, reaching a dialectic position between the integration and segregation.

Identity role play at the local level.

The implementation of interculturalism through the different concrete politics at the local scenery has a big influence in the formation and function of the migrants associations. The case of the Bulgarian migrants settled in Castile and Leon provide us with a good example to explore the way in which the global and local politics converge. They are the second biggest migrant group with their permanent residence in the region and they have reached a high degree of integration in the local context(Gómez Mestres, 2014; Ibáñez Ángulo, 2007; Stanek, 2009; Viruela Martínez, 2008). They have established some associations in the different towns, and take part in the public life and rituals of the city through them. Therefore, associations become a crucial place to research the way in which the implementation of interculturalism carried out, besides their role as relevant social actors in the migrant community making.

Bulgarian associations emerged because of two main reasons. On the one hand, they were made to link the Bulgarian community together, trying to achieve common goals in cooperation with their embassy. On the other hand, they were the Bulgarian answer to the local requirements to participate in the daily urban life. In both cases, they have proved themselves as useful for the migrants' purposes and the local goal of integration. In these processes the management of identity turns crucial and reflects the influence of the interculturalism promoted by the local agency.

In this paper we are considering identity from a constructivist approach(Brubaker Cooper, F., 2000), which makes it to be in a permanent process of redefinition by the contact of the group and the context. Borders of the group are reshaped by the action of its members, enabling a common identity used by the whole community in the integration process. Regarding the local stage, we would like to outline the fact that most of the Bulgarian associations have incorporated to their identity discourses the ideology of interculturalism. That means that they have learnt how to promote an image of cultural difference in the framework of equality and tolerance.

Ritual is an interesting social fact to explore the way in which this framework and affect not only the pragmatic level of performance, but also the discourse done around it(Rappaport, 1999; Turner, 1967). Hence, most of the rituals performed by the Bulgarian associations in the region are arranged to incorporate the local population, as well as other migrants associations. They usually invite relevant people in the town council, as well as relevant people from the other migrants associations and NGO's at

the local terrain with the target of making their culture be known among the local population. That has an influence in the way they perform their rituals, trying to make them more attractive for the profane population who attend to them. At the same time, these rituals are the place where they express their notion of community and identity in front of the local society.

This identity expressed in the rituals spreads in many different levels, emerging a properly game of roles. The fact that these associations emerged at the local scenery after the impulse of the local agency make them to have a common past with other migrants' associations. This common past acts as a key fact in the identity construction when it is useful to achieve a common goal. Hence, sometimes they present themselves as mere migrants, developing a clever discourse to claim for more resources at the local stage, adding votes to their cause in other migrants' associations. This turned especially relevant in the last times when migrants became a collective in risk of social exclusion due to the economic crisis suffered in Spain. In these situations, the bigger is the collective, the easier is to achieve a goal and exert political pressures.

However, not always it is useful to be regarded as migrant. Bulgarian are conscious of the risk of exclusion enhanced in the notion of migrant, hence they developed as well a discourse of identity based on the fact that they are European citizens and, because of this fact, they are legal citizens at the local stage. This can be observed particularly in the migrants' meetings, where to stress the difference can be crucial to reach a better position under the other migrants' associations. The word Europe appears more often when is necessary to make visible to the other migrants the different legal status derived from this fact. It has been observed during our fieldwork, especially when they need to assure a position with the different NGO's at the local scenery.

In both cases, they always add the notion of tolerance and equality to their public speeches to match the promoted interculturalism. For example, we analyse the changes observed in the celebration of one the most relevant festivities for the Bulgarian community: the Martenitza. This is an interesting ritual to research because of the merging of national tendencies and the mentioned aim of integration in the local context. The 1 st March Bulgarian celebrate a festivity related with the coming spring. According to the tradition, the elderly Baba Marta comes down from the mountain and visits people announcing the next season (Borisova, 2012). People usually make or buy brace lace with red and white colours appealing to an ancient legend of the medieval period of Bulgaria when the kingdom has to fight for its own survival against the many other folks and enemies in the Balkan Peninsula. This brace lace is a high valued present that people offers to each other, wearing it until the arrival of spring. This tradition is as well observed in Spain by the migrant community, and a special festival is arranged for it.

The case of Stara Planina, one of the biggest associations in Valladolid, capital of the region, illustrates the relevance of this ritual and the many other identity aspects merged in it. They usually arrange a big celebration of this festivity which enhances an exhibition of traditional culture and history, and the performance of some traditional dances. They use for it one of the theatres o he Community Centres, as the local associations do for their own performances. They invite the local authorities, as well as

relevant people from other political parties, and the representatives from other migrants' association, and reserve for them the best and honoured places in the theatre. They are conscious of the relevance of the proper management of this ritual in order to promote a public image of the Bulgarian community which helps in the integration process.

To understand the relevance of this festivity it is worthy to mention that it includes, at the same time, the celebration of two other relevant festivities in Bulgaria. First of all, the 3th March is celebrated the independence of Bulgaria from the Ottoman Empire. Hence, it is a highly nationalistic festivity, completely relevant in the nation making process in the contemporary Bulgaria. Secondly, the 8th march is celebrated not only the Women Day but also the Mother's Day in Bulgaria. According to their gender ideology, this festivity is quite relevant and is properly celebrated, in contrast with the Women Day in Spain. While in Spain it is a vindictory act with some demonstrations in the public sphere, in Bulgaria it is a community and family celebration, relevant for people beyond any vindication aim.

All these three different festivities merge when the Martenitza is celebrated in Valladolid. The first aspect modified by the aim to make their culture to be known among the local population is the date. They usually chose one of the first Fridays of March, depending on the schedule of the events in the town, in order to make it more accessible to everyone. Then second aspect is the name. This festivity is always officially called "Martenitza" in spite of the fact that it is celebrated the 1st, 2nd or 8th march. They use this name because this celebration became popular in the local context due to the tradition of offering red and white bracelaces. Hence, in 2013, they celebrated this ritual the 8th March. They called it Martenitza and so was referred in the official invitations and publicity made in the town, but then they keep talking about "Osmi mart" inside the Bulgarian community because it is the name given to this day in their country of origin. They explained us that they used "Martenitza" instead because it is well-known in the town and so people would attend to the event. The third aspect refers to the performance. They have developed a complex way to arrange the celebration, having a lot of activities for the own community, such as some traditional dances and poems readings, and some long discourses and explanations directed to the local population.

These discourses are quite relevant to show the effectiveness of the interculturalism implemented by the local agency. They usually hold the speeches in Bulgarian and Spanish, and these discourses explain the different Bulgarian tradition to be observed in the performance of the ritual, as well as the ideal of integration and community supported by them. These ideals enhance the notion of tolerance, bringing the Bulgarian community to the framework of the migration and integration context. They use these speeches to handle this migrants' identity role, as well as the Bulgarian and European citizens. In the last years they stress the migrant identity in order to appeal to the other migrants who attend this ritual to exert a bigger pressure over the local politicians who usually are sat down in the first line of the room. That shows a strategic management of identity by this community in terms of goals achievement. This provides us with a good example of the many meanings developed inside the ritual where we can observe the

reinforcement of the Bulgarian community as well as their integration in the collectives of migrants in the town.

We can find other good example of this phenomenon in the case of Rodina, a Bulgarian Association in Segovia. Segovia is a small town in the region o Castle and Leon closed to Madrid. This area is known by its traditional dances and many dance festivals are celebrated along the year. Rodina has developed a strategic use of the Bulgarian traditional culture in order to be able to take part in most of those festivals. In the early years, they tried to arrange a spectacle based on Bulgarian Folks dances. As far as it was not too commercial at the local level, they decided to rethink their work, preparing a Balkan Dances Show, which happens to be easier to place in the local festivals. In the last years, they evolved this identity discourse presenting themselves as a kind of Slavonic representatives. In the last 2014, they were invited to take part at the local performance of the Russian Ballet Katiuska. Local organizations assumed that they were the most suitable people to participate on it as the Russian ballet. From the local point of view, it makes sense to consider this association as an official representative of the East of Europe, in spite of the fact of the many differences to be observed between the Bulgarian and the Russian traditions.

They explained us that they did these things because they believe that “all of us are just people, it doesn’t matter where we are from”. They don’t mind presenting themselves as Balkan or Slavonic representatives in their official discourses. They arranged a program of local community development based on the performance of different dances. They explain that appealing to the fact that it is a good way to shape the so desired interculturalist society. In fact, they are usually performing Bulgarian folk dances, adding one or two from other Balkan countries to their shows. Hence, it can be regarded as a strategic management of identity discourses which enable them to promote the Bulgarian culture thanks to its conversion to a wider cultural horizon. When they explain the relevance of sharing their own traditions with other associations, local or migrants, they use the rhetoric learnt in the time of their arrival, when they were helped by the local agency and NGO’s.

These examples illustrate the relevance of the local answer to the migration in terms of identity. The different migrant identities are transformed due to the integration process. This process consists in the many local development strategies based on the implementation of associations and the interculturalism. Migrants can’t be regarded as passive parts in this process, but active subjects who redefine the interculturalism promoted at the global level of the European Union, giving it a concrete form at the local level of the daily life in the towns.

Concluding remarks

This paper has explored the way in which strategies of local development and integration affects the identity definition process not only of the local community, but also the migrants. Identity is a cultural construction which enables the belonging and inclusion sense to a community. It is not a fixed complex of features and characteristics, but the result of a process of permanent definition guided by different social actors.

In terms of integration, the way in which the community is shaped is crucial in the promotion of different identities. The contemporary society can't be considered a homogeneous group of people with a unitary cultural background, but the result of a cohabitation of several different groups of people with different cultural traditions. The local strategies implemented by different NGO's and associations prevent social exclusion since they promote the integration of the different migrants in the different associations. At the same time these associations become a tool for migrants to take part in the local decisions making processes.

This way of deal with migration and integration is guided by the interculturalism promoted by the European Union. Hence, the local strategies of integration of the migrants' communities are an interesting place to research the merging of the global logic and the local answers. As discussed before, the local level actors incorporate these discourses of interculturalism in different situations, and they turn especially relevant regarding the integration. It provides the migrants with the possibility to exhibit and maintain their cultural particularities while communication and cooperation between the different groups is promoted.

Furthermore, this crossroad between the local and the global logics intervenes in the identity making process. In the context of the interculturalism, the different migrants' communities develop a group identity expressed in the different rituals in the town. The case of the Bulgarian community provide us with a good example of this exercise, where they build up different identities as different layers, and used them differently to achieve their goals depending on the situation. As we have explored in this paper, they swing between their identity as mere Bulgarian, migrants or European citizens. This way of managing identity makes evident the relevance of the context in the identity construction processes.

Identity can't be considered the core of the essence of the group, but as a tool of group construction itself, which evolves and changes according to different contexts. The integration process of a migrants' community exemplifies the way in which the actual society works, developing strategies between the global discourses and trends, and the local concrete requirements and conditions.

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ANEXO II

**CONSIDERACIONES
EPISTEMOLÓGICAS**

CONSIDERACIONES EPISTEMOLÓGICAS

A la hora de plantear un proyecto de tesis doctoral, resulta fundamental realizar una cuidadosa tarea de reflexión sobre la epistemología que subyace a la propia investigación. Una tesis, con independencia del campo en el que se desarrolle, persigue contribuir a incrementar el conocimiento de su disciplina. No se trata de llenar páginas de un modo azaroso, sino que se busca llegar a conocimientos científicos que puedan hacer avanzar el campo de estudio. Se pretende alcanzar conocimientos verdaderos. En este sentido, la tradición académica occidental tiene una deuda innegable con la filosofía griega y la distinción clásica entre *doxa* y *episteme*.

Sócrates-Platón, uno de los primeros grandes héroes fundacionales de nuestra tradición cultural, se enfrentó por esta cuestión a los Sofistas, primeros proscritos culturales de lo que hoy en día se considera civilización europea (Kirk, C.S., Raven, J.E., Schofield, 1970; Russell, 1972). Los Sofistas, denostados por la Academia Platónica, no eran capaces de generar conocimientos sólidos y verdaderos sino que utilizaban el lenguaje para disfrazar la *doxa*, la opinión, de conocimiento. Sócrates y Platón, por su parte, fueron capaces de llegar a ofrecer *episteme*, conocimiento real, de un nivel cualitativo superior (Platón, 1982). Este conocimiento se logra siguiendo unos pasos, un método. La verdad no se alcanza por casualidad, o fruto de la imaginación, sino que es necesario buscarla, investigarla, y ser escrupuloso en el modo en que se hace.

En realidad, si la metodología es un aspecto fundamental de una tesis doctoral hoy en día es precisamente por eso. La exposición del rigor metodológico permite a la comunidad científica evaluar la calidad de los hallazgos del investigador. Además, la propia metodología va a definir el objeto de conocimiento y la posibilidad de que éste sea dado al investigador. Por lo tanto, considero que no se puede exponer la metodología sin exponer, además, la epistemología subyacente. No se puede generar conocimiento científico sin que el propio investigador se convierta (Marcos, 2000; Ortega y Gasset, 2002), al mismo tiempo, en un filósofo de la ciencia que le lleve a plantearse cuál es el objeto de conocimiento de su disciplina y hasta qué punto se pueden generar conocimientos ciertos y verdaderos dentro de ella.

Por eso considero justo comenzar por una breve exposición de los principios que subyacen a la antropología, para mejorar así la comprensión de la metodología seleccionada y que la comunidad científica esté en mejores condiciones de evaluar la calidad de mi trabajo del modo más acertado posible.

La obsesión metodológica ha estado presente en toda la tradición académica occidental desde que el mismo Platón fundara la Academia. Se trata, pues, de asumir que existe la posibilidad de llegar a conocer las cosas tal como son y, en virtud de esa posibilidad, se pueden generar conocimientos científicos. Más adelante, el método se asentará con firmeza gracias a Descartes. Descartes tuvo el mérito de plantearse de un modo muy elegante la cuestión sobre la posibilidad de conocimiento, y de exponer de forma clara y ordenada todos los pasos que daba (Descartes, 2002). Es, pues, un ejemplo muy bueno de exposición metodológica y de investigación sistemática. Se pregunta sobre si podemos llegar a obtener certeza sobre algún tipo de conocimiento en un momento en el que el cambio de paradigma había dejado obsoletas muchas teorías científicas que hasta ese momento se habían considerado verdaderas. A pesar de que proponga la duda como método, Descartes sucumbe a la tentación de afirmar la posibilidad de certeza y recurre a una artimaña teísta para resolver su problema epistemológico. Al margen de que su solución sea ampliamente criticable, hay que destacar que logró afianzar la obsesión por la certeza en la tradición científica y filosófica occidental.

Esta certeza que Descartes suponía accesible al ser humano se derrumbó como un castillo de naipes en mitad de la tormenta con el soplo de los vientos del escepticismo de la escuela anglosajona. David Hume es uno de los pensadores a los que más debemos como civilización (Hume, 2002). Con un envidiable sentido del humor dirige su crítica de forma contundente hacia la posibilidad de conocimiento. Todos nuestros conocimientos comienzan a partir de la sensibilidad. Y, ¡ay! Nuestros sentidos son falaces. No hay una recta razón capaz de enderezar el engaño propio de la sensibilidad, así que se impone la prudencia a la hora de afirmar cómo son los hechos del mundo. No podemos tener certeza de la existencia ni de la no existencia de Dios, ni del mundo, ni tan siquiera del propio sujeto pensante. Su propuesta empirista redefine la noción de verdad en términos epistemológicos. Las ciencias proporcionan conocimientos pero siempre a partir de datos sensibles, por lo tanto hay que ser cauto. Desde esta perspectiva, la metodología se muestra importante puesto que mejora el grado de

veracidad de los conocimientos obtenidos, sin caer en el sueño dogmático de poder hallar conocimientos ciertos, claros y distintos que había perseguido Descartes.

El escepticismo de Hume hizo temblar el edificio epistemológico occidental, asentándose también en sus cimientos de forma irremediable. Así, incluso hoy, cualquier reflexión sobre la propia praxis investigadora lleva aparejada una inevitable sospecha y puesta en tela de juicio de la veracidad de la propia disciplina. Dudar del propio trabajo, dudar del sentido de la propia investigación y, más aún, del sentido de la propia disciplina, es una emoción-en el sentido Humeano de la palabra- que cualquier doctorando ha experimentado con mayor o menos crudeza.

El escepticismo, aunque hermoso, resultó terriblemente duro y descarnado para la tradición académica occidental, de tal forma que pronto surgieron intentos para tratar de volver a poner en pie un grado de certeza razonable que posibilitara mayor tranquilidad en la praxis investigadora. El máximo exponente de este intento de superación de Hume, aunque con un éxito sólo parcial, fue Immanuel Kant. Desde su despacho en su casa de Königsberg creyó ser capaz de recuperar la vertiente racionalista de corte cartesiano, incorporando los sabios hallazgos de Hume. Supuso la existencia de una capacidad universal, inherente y definitoria del ser humano: la Razón Pura. Esa Razón era la que permitía afirmar que se podía tener certeza de determinados conocimientos (Kant, 1995, 1999). Al margen de lo ilusoria de esta idea, que tan hábilmente atacaron Nietzsche, Freud y Marx, Kant resulta fundamental para la epistemología contemporánea.

Hasta ese momento la ecuación sujeto-mundo había permanecido sin grandes cambios. Se trataba de despejar si el sujeto podía o no conocer el mundo, y si esto era posible, de qué modo lo conocía. A partir de Kant esta ecuación se modifica. El sujeto realiza una labor activa de creación de conocimiento con el material que recibe del mundo. Todo el conocimiento surge a partir de la percepción del mundo sensible, pero esta percepción no es pasiva, sino que el sujeto percibe en función de unas categorías que transforman el mundo percibido. Coincide con Hume en que no podemos percibir el mundo tal como es. Percibimos aquello que nuestras categorías nos permiten percibir. Nuestro conocimiento del mundo no puede decir cómo es el mundo real, sino que se limita a decir cómo es nuestro mundo percibido. Sin embargo, la Razón garantiza que ese conocimiento y esas percepciones son las correctas porque permite establecer un

método de investigación. La obsesión de Kant por la epistemología y la metodología le llevó a establecer un complejo cuadro de ciencias y tipos de conocimiento cierto que podían ofrecer. Cada disciplina es capaz de responder a unas preguntas, y de llegar a un tipo determinado de certezas. A pesar de que mantiene la Razón como criterio último que fundamenta su epistemología, su análisis abre la puerta a la posibilidad de lógicas diferentes para disciplinas diferentes.

En esta tensión entre certeza e incertidumbre, entre escépticos y racionalistas, nos encontramos en el siglo XIX, siglo en el que las Ciencias Sociales se desarrollan con fuerza. Este desarrollo comienza con una fundamentación epistemológica acompañada de una reflexión metodológica. Mientras que las Ciencias Naturales, con la Física a la cabeza, habían logrado un desarrollo considerable que se plasmaba en el progreso tecnológico de la Humanidad desarrollada, las Ciencias Sociales parecían atascadas en un lugar incognoscible, incapaces de proporcionar progreso social a la humanidad. A los múltiples nuevos inventos y mejoras de la calidad de vida de una élite, seguían revueltas sociales, guerras, hambrunas... Era lógico, pues, preguntarse por la capacidad de las Ciencias Sociales de alcanzar conocimiento, preguntarse por su epistemología.

Dilthey fue uno de los pensadores a los que más debemos todos aquellos que desarrollamos nuestra labor investigadora dentro de las Ciencias Sociales. Tomó el relevo de la epistemología Kantiana y fue más allá en el reparto de competencias de las ciencias (Dilthey, 1922). Diferenció entre las Naturwissenschaften, o Ciencias de la Naturaleza, y las Geisteswissenschaften, o Ciencias del Espíritu. Las Ciencias de la Naturaleza tienen una epistemología que permite llegar a formular leyes universales, a definir con un grado bastante elevado de precisión las condiciones en las que se cumplen esas leyes y, en virtud de ese conocimiento, realizar predicciones con un elevado grado de certeza para los acontecimientos del futuro. El caso de las Ciencias Naturales es bastante diferente. Es más complejo hallar leyes universales y las predicciones de futuro suelen ser una auténtica equivocación.

Como buen kantiano, Dilthey señaló que la diferencia más radical entre ambos grupos de ciencias se encuentra en el tipo de relación que se produce entre el sujeto mundo. En el caso de las Ciencias de la Naturaleza, el ser humano investiga un objeto externo, ajeno, que sólo afecta con sus propias categorías en el acto de conocer e investigar. Sin embargo, cuando investigamos la sociedad no podemos ignorar que formamos parte de

ella, de tal forma que el objeto de la investigación y el investigador llegan a confundirse muchas veces. Esto afecta de forma necesaria al desarrollo de la investigación, exigiendo una epistemología más compleja que dé cuenta de esta particularidad.

La escuela francesa se resiste a abandonar el sueño dogmático de la razón propiciado por Descartes. Así, Comte y Durkheim sientan las bases epistemológicas de las Ciencias Sociales con la ilusión de que la aplicación de un método adecuado llevaría a la consecución de conocimientos ciertos y verdaderos que permitirían el progreso social y mejorarían la calidad de vida del grupo (Comte, 1998; Durkheim, 1998). Al margen de las muchas dudas que este proyecto me suscita, y de lo sospechoso que me resulta el término progreso, considero que ambos autores están en la fundamentación epistemológica que subyace a la praxis en investigación social.

El siglo XX, en términos de teoría del conocimiento, puede verse como un intento de sobrellevar la nada sencilla resaca dejada por el neopositivismo del siglo XIX, y la aún no superada crisis escéptica hábilmente formulada por Hume. Por un lado, las Ciencias de la Naturaleza se mueven en un horizonte metodológico que presume de alcanzar grandes certezas, mientras que, por el contrario, la teoría epistemológica se vuelve cada vez más cautelosa. Husserl, Heidegger y en versión española, Ortega y Gasset, tratan de apuntalar el maltrecho edificio kantiano (Ortega y Gasset, 2001, 2002; J. San Martín, 1986, 1994). Buscan el modo de restituir la racionalidad del ser humano, de rescatar una cualidad universal que permita formular leyes generales, llegar a la verdad. Sin embargo, en todas sus propuestas, y a pesar de las diferencias entre ellos, aparece el perspectivismo como aspecto fundamental del modo en el que conocemos. El mundo, el objeto en sí, no puede ser conocido. Sólo conocemos aquello que percibimos, y esta percepción está mediada por el propio sujeto y las categorías que éste impone. Más aún, cada sujeto percibe una perspectiva que, incluso cuando pueda ser contradictoria en apariencia con otras diferentes, no anula su relevancia epistemológica. Varias perspectivas nos permiten acercarnos al objeto, al mundo, a *das Ding in sich*. Se trata, pues, de intentar obtener el máximo número posible de perspectivas y así, entre ellas, completar una visión del mundo.

Heidegger lleva aún más lejos sus reflexiones epistemológicas y, arrastrado por una profunda reflexión metafísica, las entremezcla con el sentido de la vida. ¿Qué se puede conocer? Poco, muy poco. Nos aproximamos al mundo que se nos da, que se nos

muestra, pero das Dings an sich permanece oculta a nuestra capacidad por mucho que lo intentemos. La época de las grandes consignas y los grandes ideales ha pasado. Ya no existen grandes paradigmas científicos y sociales capaces de dotar de sentido a la vida. El individuo ha irrumpido con fuerza y se descubre a sí mismo como un *Da-sein*, un permanente estar ahí, arrojado a un mundo que sólo puede conocer parcialmente, viviendo de forma constante con la conciencia de la propia muerte. En este punto, y una vez comprendida la inutilidad de la obsesión de la búsqueda de la verdad, se abre el camino para el arte y la poesía. Al igual que hizo Nietzsche, la constatación de que la búsqueda racional de sentido al mundo está condenada al fracaso les llevó a descubrir el arte como forma de expresar cosas más profundas y que, en cierta forma, guarda verdad en términos vitales(Nietzsche, 2005).

Un autor fundamental en este intento de reconducir el espíritu kantiano y tratar de levantarlo después de la crisis escéptica es el heredero de la Escuela de Frankfurt Jürgen Habermas. Firmemente convencido de que el conocimiento debe ser posible, y que esta posibilidad de conocimiento debe permitir formular leyes generales incluso en campos como la ética o la política, realiza una profunda revisión epistemológica de la Filosofía Práctica(HABERMAS, 1998). Reformula la vieja Razón del señor Kant asumiendo las críticas recibidas principalmente desde Freud y sus seguidores. No se puede sostener la racionalidad del ser humano con la misma contundencia que hiciera Kant. Lo irracional irrumpe de forma contundente, plasmándose en catástrofes sociales como las guerras mundiales. Sin embargo, tampoco es justo afirmar que todo es azaroso y que el hombre es totalmente irracional. Para rescatar la posibilidad de una epistemología sólida, lo que hace Habermas es reconducir al sujeto al grupo. La racionalidad no es una cuestión de cada uno sino que se ejerce de forma discursiva. En el hecho de establecer un diálogo está implícita la aceptación de una serie de normas racionales que posibilitan ese diálogo. La imposibilidad de tener un lenguaje privado expuesta por Wittgenstein se plasma así en un criterio de racionalidad que permite refundar la posibilidad de conocimiento(LUDWIG Wittgenstein, 1999; Ludwig Wittgenstein, 2002).

No se puede conocer el mundo en sí, sólo obtenemos perspectivas, pero estas perspectivas pueden ser contrastadas, pueden ser puestas en común y revalidadas por la comunidad. El grupo entra en juego para sortear el solipsismo al que nos había llevado de forma irremediable Husserl en su interpretación de Kant. El sujeto no está sólo. El diálogo garantiza que el lenguaje precede al individuo, trasciende al individuo, y

permite que el conocimiento sea contrastado. Permite que el conocimiento emerja en el propio acto de la discusión, de la exposición de motivos y de hechos. A pesar de que el desarrollo filosófico de la epistemología de Habermas presenta numerosas dificultades de aplicación, considero que reconducir la posibilidad de generar conocimiento a la comunidad mediante el discurso como horizonte referencial tiene un valor incuestionable para la epistemología de las Ciencias Sociales en las que se ha movido la praxis de esta investigación.

Otro pensador fundamental para poder hacer antropología en la actualidad es Georg Gadamer. Desde su cátedra en Heidelberg se dedicó a pensar en la posibilidad de conocimiento y, de forma muy concreta, en el horizonte epistemológico en el que se mueven las Ciencias Sociales (Gadamer, 2010). Frente a una visión neopositivista que pretende imponer a las Ciencias Sociales objetivos y metodologías de las Ciencias de la Naturaleza, Gadamer plantea que los objetivos y objetos de estudio son tan radicalmente diferentes que esa pretensión carece de sentido. El objetivo de las Ciencias Sociales es comprender el mundo, no formular hipótesis sobre el futuro. Es un conocimiento de tipo diferente. Ese mundo, además, no puede ser conocido de forma directa. Es cambiante, evoluciona, y es percibido por el sujeto desde las categorías que tiene. Estas categorías son algo innato, sino que derivan de su momento social y cultural. El individuo investiga desde su propio grupo, lastrado por la visión del mundo heredada de ellos. Decir cómo son las cosas resulta poco útil y poco posible. En lugar de ello, su propuesta hermenéutica reconduce la investigación a la interpretación cultural. Se trata de hacer accesibles los significados de un grupo para otro grupo. Esto supone una epistemología radicalmente diferente a la de las Ciencias Naturales que conlleva una diferente reflexión metodológica.

Por último, me gustaría destacar el papel de Paul Feyerabend y su propuesta epistemológica. Este austríaco se muestra totalmente en contra de la idea de que exista un conjunto de reglas y de métodos de investigación aplicables a la ciencia, que sea rígido y garante por sí mismo de la adquisición de conocimiento (Feyerabend, 2003, 2007). Ni siquiera en el caso de las Ciencias de la Naturaleza podemos hablar de un dogmatismo metodológico tan grande puesto que esto imposibilitaría el avance y los descubrimientos. En su lugar propone considerar las diferentes metodologías como diferentes herramientas que el investigador tiene a su alcance y que tratará de utilizar en cada caso, buscando la metodología más adecuada, combinando todas ellas en lo que ha

llamado y definido como anarquismo metodológico. Ya no se trata de buscar un único corpus metodológico que garantice la veracidad de la investigación, sino que el investigador debe ir comprendiendo el objeto investigado y adecuando sus métodos a ello en cada caso. En Ciencias Sociales, esta propuesta es claramente útil y fructífera.

El avance en los diferentes campos científicos no es lineal, y casi nunca es fruto de la aplicación sistemática de una metodología de forma escrupulosa. Realiza una interesante revisión de los últimos avances en las Ciencias de la Naturaleza mostrando como, en el fondo, la excesiva sistematicidad de los laboratorios permite comprobar teorías y descartar determinados errores estadísticos pero no hace avanzar a la ciencia. El conocimiento, la episteme, aparece precisamente fruto de un cierto grado de anarquismo metodológico que deja atrás la dictadura de la investigación académica y se lanza a crear, a innovar, a romper las reglas dadas. El yugo del lenguaje académico lastra la propia posibilidad de hacer ciencia porque mutila esa creatividad que debe tener un científico que quiera avanzar, y no sólo conformarse con comprobar las hipótesis de otros.

En el caso de las Ciencias Sociales, su propuesta metodológica resulta aún más interesante, y va más allá en su crítica al totalitarismo metodológico y lingüístico de la academia. Hay que incorporar otros lenguajes, a abandonar la trillada senda de las publicaciones científicas si realmente se quiere poder llegar a aprehender el objeto que se pretende investigar porque. Las Ciencias Sociales son, en definitiva, Ciencias Humanas. Y la vida humana es muy pocas veces sistemática. Esta propuesta metodológica lleva una epistemología dura y severa. Es necesario ser reflexivo sobre la propia investigación y explicitar muy bien la filosofía subyacente a la propia investigación. En este sentido, es una propuesta más sólida que la norma académica que supone fotocopiar los protocolos de laboratorio de un equipo, adoptar un determinado tipo de escritura académica, sin cuestionar ni asimilar la epistemología y la ideología que se esconden detrás de ello.

Esta propuesta de Feyerabend permite, en mi opinión, que el desarrollo de la propia investigación sea el lugar para que el investigador se replantee su metodología. Ofrece un marco epistemológico que facilita la labor científica al permitir que se vayan incorporando diferentes ideas y diferentes metodologías a medida que el objeto de investigación se va volviendo más accesible al investigador. El proyecto no es

definitivo, es un permanente borrador, un boceto que debe ir puliéndose y borrándose casi a cada paso. La investigación no puede ser un proyecto cerrado, racionalmente fijado, aséptico. Es más bien un laberinto que se va abriendo a medida que nos adentramos en él. Es un paseo racional por el Jardín de los Senderos que se bifurcan, en el que nunca se pueden desandar los pasos y el avance se ve lastrado por la inevitable nostalgia de la senda abandonada. Un intento de nadar hasta la otra orilla en un río que, como el de Heráclito, nunca vuelve a ser el mismo. Sólo se pueden extraer determinadas trayectorias, que pueden compararse con otras, y validarse en una racionalidad intersubjetiva carente de certezas.

En este sentido, la similitud de esta concepción epistemológica con las descripciones que los antropólogos dan del trabajo de campo resulta sugerente y claramente visible. La antropología es una disciplina orientada a una comprensión profunda del ser humano partiendo de la variabilidad cultural como algo positivo. A lo largo del siglo XX, la confluencia de las diferentes disciplinas parecían poner en cuestión la necesidad de la antropología. Si el capitalismo ha logrado que el mundo entero haya caído bajo las piedras del molino satánico de Polanyi, creando una cultura globalizada (Boltanski, L., Chiapello, 2010; Polanyi, 2001), ¿qué sentido tiene una disciplina que, en teoría, se dedica a estudiar tribus antes remotas? La antropología se orienta hacia las sociedades industriales, y parece chocar así con los objetivos de la Sociología. Su potencial de documentar la vida de los otros parece ceder terreno ante el imparable avance de los periodistas y fotógrafos free lance que han convertido al mundo en un perverso Gran Hermano. ¿Tiene sentido, entonces, la antropología hoy?

Mi respuesta es un sí rotundo. Esta pregunta filosófica de primer nivel se responde precisamente en la propia epistemología que legitima la capacidad científica de la disciplina. La antropología, con el trabajo de campo como metodología fundamental, permite una aproximación más holística a los fenómenos vitales que cualquier otra disciplina. Impone al investigador una convivencia prolongada, una comprensión interna del objeto de estudio, al tiempo que se hace inevitable una labor permanente de producción teórica, de reflexión sobre la praxis científica y sobre la propia investigación. Además, es capaz de hacer que esa comprensión particular se transfiera a un horizonte social más amplio, encontrando así el horizonte intersubjetivo subyacente a la comunicación científica.

La presente investigación se apoya básicamente en metodologías cualitativas. Tradicionalmente, el apartado de metodología consiste en una exposición de métodos y criterios de validación que resultan tediosos de leer y que, sin embargo, generan estrés al doctorando a la hora de redactar el documento final. Parece que es necesario ser capaz de citar un número elevado de metodologías y que, además, hay que extenderse bastante en la exposición si uno quiere demostrar la científicidad de su investigación. Pienso que esa forma de proceder no es del todo correcta. Por eso he preferido realizar una exposición epistemológica y dejar que el trabajo de campo como el gran paraguas metodológico que permite realizar una tarea de reflexión investigadora a medida que ha ido avanzando la propia investigación.

A lo largo de estos años he realizado muchas entrevistas formales, muchas de las llamadas entrevistas semiestructuradas, grupos de discusión más o menos cerrados, documentación fotográfica, recogida de canciones... Sin embargo, ninguna de estas cosas me ha permitido avanzar ni un poco en mi investigación. Más bien han sido cosas que he hecho por un imperativo académico. Eran procedimientos que, al igual que los test psicológicos, imponían una absurda distancia entre mi praxis investigadora y el objeto de estudio. Lo que realmente me ha permitido llegar a un cierto grado de comprensión de la complejidad del fenómeno migratorio de Bulgaria, de su integración en la región de Castilla y León ha sido el propio trabajo de campo.

El trabajo de campo es similar a la propuesta ética de Aristóteles. La *areté* no se obtiene por un dogmatismo racional, sino que debe ser una actividad esencialmente práctica. La virtud no se piensa, se ejecuta (Aristóteles, 1995). Pero, al mismo tiempo, no se puede llegar a un pensamiento virtuoso sin que antes haya una tarea racional de elección de fines y de medios. Así, pues, la *areté* es el fruto de una intensa tarea reflexiva que surge de la praxis vital. Pienso que el trabajo de campo es muy similar a esta visión aristotélica de la filosofía práctica en el sentido de que es una praxis permanente que emerge de la reflexión constante e imparabile sobre el propio quehacer antropológico.

Además, esta praxis es siempre praxis social. Aristóteles decía que fuera de la polis sólo puede vivir un monstruo o un dios (Aristóteles, 2000). Un antropólogo está lejos de ser alguna de estas dos cosas. Más bien al contrario, la praxis antropológica remite necesariamente al *zoon politikon*. El antropólogo se aísla de su propio grupo para integrarse en el grupo que va a investigar. Al menos así parece entenderse de forma

general la concepción del trabajo de campo heredada de Malinowski (Malinowski, 1961). Sin embargo, durante el trabajo de campo el antropólogo no sólo no se aísla de su grupo, sino que se refuerza más en él.

En primer lugar, el campo, si es un poco prolongado, hace inevitable que emerja una intimidad y una confianza con el grupo con el que se trabaja. Convivir con un grupo humano hace que, además de poder entender muchas cosas y obtener un montón de datos presuntamente relevantes para la investigación, se desarrollen relaciones emocionales con el grupo. Esto no es sino una profundización de Dilthey. En antropología no sólo investigamos un objeto del que participamos, sino que nuestra vida sigue transcurriendo en y durante la investigación. La producción de conocimiento es social desde el principio y, además, es de carácter vital para el antropólogo.

En segundo lugar, y retomando la línea epistemológica con la que comenzaba este anexo, el antropólogo nunca está solo. No podemos percibir el mundo. El sujeto pone unas categorías que filtran ese mundo. En el caso del antropólogo, esto se hace aún más evidente ya que una gran parte de la investigación consiste en explorar hasta la saciedad la construcción de esas categorías (R. San Martín, 2003). Así, cuando la sensación de soledad se apodera del antropólogo en sus jornadas más negras de campo, en su cabeza resuenan con más fuerza las líneas teóricas de otros, los trabajos leídos de otros. Es un sentirse sólo pensado desde la colectividad de los pilares epistemológicos que guían la investigación. Así, el conocimiento es social desde el principio, también desde la perspectiva de la formación de las categorías de los propios investigadores.

Durante el trabajo de campo el antropólogo afronta la doble tensión de intentar conocer al grupo que investiga al tiempo que satisface la inscripción de Delfos de *Conócete a ti mismo*. Es un viaje hacia dentro desde fuera y hacia fuera desde dentro que impone una tarea constante de reflexión sobre quién soy yo y quiénes son los otros. Una tarea de epistemología práctica a partir de la vivencia cotidiana para intentar llegar a ofrecer a la comunidad científica una nueva perspectiva que contribuya a incrementar el conocimiento social sobre la particularidad humana.

El desarrollo de esta investigación ha sido un cuestionarse de forma casi permanente el desarrollo del trabajo de campo. Tras unos meses de lecturas y conversaciones de un inestimable valor moral y epistemológico con mi directora de tesis, comencé con una pequeña aproximación al campo en el otoño de 2012. La idea era tener una intuición un

poco acertada de qué me esperaba en el campo futuro para intentar hacer un diseño de la investigación lo más útil posible. Esta aproximación al campo consistió en tomar contacto con una asociación de Búlgaros de Valladolid que lleva el nombre de Stara Planina. Se trata de una de las mayores asociaciones de búlgaros de Castilla y León y una de las más activas.

La decisión de comenzar por una asociación fue fruto de muchas conversaciones con mi directora de tesis y de muchas reflexiones. El objetivo era intentar comprender por qué los búlgaros de Castilla y León habían logrado una integración tan grande en la población local que llevaba incluso a su invisibilidad. Por eso parecía interesante comenzar por una asociación, que era la antítesis de la invisibilidad. Además, suponía la existencia de un colectivo definido a partir del que se iría abriendo el campo.

Los primeros meses podrían resumirse en una profunda sensación de torpeza. Comencé a visitarles de forma muy regular y a participar en todas sus reuniones. Incluso conseguí que empezaran un curso de búlgaro para españoles que comenzamos cuatro personas y terminé yo sólo. Esta asociación tenía un grupo de baile y la escuela para niños. Yo iba y les veía ensayar, veía a los niños ir al colegio, y trataba sin éxito de entrar en su dinámica cotidiana. Me generaba mucha ansiedad ser torpe y no ser capaz de superar esa barrera. Eran majos conmigo y muy hospitalarios, pero seguía estando fuera. La ansiedad era lógica y era culpa mía. Intentaba imponer ritmos de investigación a una cuestión meramente vital. Así, con el tiempo, y de un modo que aún no he llegado a comprender, fue entrando en las esferas más íntimas de la asociación y de esas personas.

Casi tres meses después tenía una rutina agradable de visitas en sus casas, de ayudarles con mudanzas, de cocinar, beber, cantar, hacer papeleo de la asociación. Me convertí en un tonto útil al que fueron cogiendo cariño y pude así llegar a una mayor intimidad. Eso permitió que los relatos sobre el proceso migratorio fueran más humanos, más dolorosos, más vivos. Empecé a formar parte de sus vidas como ellos de la mía, aunque siempre estaba la tensión de la producción epistemológica, la reflexión permanente sobre lo que veía y sentía, el llenar libretas y libretas de anotaciones que en su momento parecían relevantes, luego una tontería y que luego a veces rescataba en mi proceso de comprensión del campo.

Mi progreso con el idioma era más bien nulo. Iba a clase todas las semanas y ponía mucho interés pero el búlgaro resultó ser un idioma extremadamente complicado. A

ellos les hacía mucha ilusión que lo intentara aprender, pero allí nadie parecía dar un duro porque algún día pudiera hablar algo. Le hacía gracia ver mi caligrafía en cirílico, pero me contemplaban más bien como a un niño jugando a ser mayor, con ternura y compasión y mucha condescendencia.

En febrero de 2013 di un paso más en mi campo y me apunté al grupo de baile. Fue toda una sorpresa para ellos que les situó entre la ilusión y el miedo. Para ese momento yo ya me había convertido en su objeto exótico que enseñar a otras asociaciones, pero el grupo de baile era un lugar demasiado íntimo como para dejar entrar a un extraño. Comencé a ir a los ensayos. Ponían mucho empeño y dedicación en intentar que yo diera algún paso mínimamente rítmico. Aquello era aún más frustrante que el búlgaro. Muchas veces llegaba a mis límites emocionales al verme en el espejo de la sala de ensayo incapaz de girar en la misma dirección que ellos. Les escuchaba comentar en un idioma incomprensible, intentando ejecutar pasos imposibles. Aprendí así el significado profundo de la palabra frustración.

En ese momento, además, había descubierto que la investigación iba a ser mucho más dura de lo que había pensado a priori. Había logrado ya un mejor acceso a más personas, compartía más intimidad con ellos, y la cuestión de la historiografía nacional y la religión habían comenzado a aflorar. Intenté sin éxito realizar campo en la Iglesia Ortodoxa de la ciudad. La realidad de mi campo excedía mi capacidad de comprensión y yo quería correr más de lo que mis piernas me permitían.

En los primeros meses de 2013 sucedieron muchas cosas que mejoraron mi trabajo de campo. Me quedé en paro. Eso fue una catástrofe vital, pero buena para investigación ya que me acercó mucho emocionalmente a las personas con las que investigaba. Yo también era vulnerable en términos laborales, como ellos, así que era más uno de ellos. Además, me permitió disfrutar de mucho tiempo libre que pude dedicar a hacer más campo, a estar más en sus casas, a acompañarles en su vida cotidiana, a leer más antropología y a pensar.

La primavera de 2013 fue decisiva para mi investigación. Tras varias conversaciones interesantes con mi directora de tesis decidí gastar el poco dinero que percibía como prestación por desempleo en realizar una estancia de investigación en Bulgaria. Comenzamos a buscar de forma desesperada información sobre algún departamento que pudiera acogerme. Mi objetivo era aprender búlgaro y entender un poco más mi objeto

de investigación. Lo primero que descubrimos es que encontrar información era bastante complejo. Por suerte para mí, después de muchas vueltas logramos dar con el Departamento de Etnología Balcánica del Instituto Etnográfico Nacional que depende de la Academia de Ciencias de Bulgaria. A pesar de lo mucho que buscamos, escribir a este departamento fue un disparo al aire que, por suerte para mí, salió bien y dio en el blanco.

El mero hecho de ir a hacer este viaje cambió mucho mi relación con el campo. Los búlgaros se abrieron un poco más a mí pero, al mismo tiempo, tenían miedo de que fuera a conocer su país. La percepción que tiene de Bulgaria se mueve entre la nostalgia y el pesimismo, de forma que pensaban que me iba a decepcionar. Durante el mes previo fui a clase de búlgaro a diario. Como mi situación financiera era muy penosa las intercambié por clases de refuerzo para la hija adolescente de la profesora. A diario veía a los búlgaros que me daban consejos sobre Bulgaria, direcciones de familiares... Incluso me ayudaron a encontrar un lugar en el que vivir. Y fue así como terminé residiendo en la casa del hijo de uno de mis informantes.

Llegué a Bulgaria el día 30 de Abril de 2013 y allí permanecí hasta el día 31 de Julio de ese mismo año. Fue todo muy diferente a lo esperado y muy productivo en términos vitales y de investigación. Mi compañero de piso resultó ser un simpático adolescente que cumplió 19 años durante mi estancia, de tal forma que mi casa resultó ser el lugar de reunión de la pandilla del barrio. Yo me convertí en el elemento exótico de esa pandilla. Demasiado viejo y demasiado raro para ser uno de ellos, me convertí pronto en su protegido y me fueron abriendo los diferentes lugares del barrio.

Lo primero a lo que tuve que hacer frente fue al complejo entramado burocrático del país. A pesar de que Bulgaria está en la Unión Europea, mi situación de desempleo hacía necesario que me registrara allí incluso para una estancia tan corta si quería seguir cobrando el dinero que tanto necesitaba. Eso me hizo iniciar una serie desesperante de viajes a diferentes oficinas. Allí me miraban con estupor porque, según me dijeron, era una rara excepción a la norma que consistía, precisamente, en moverse de Bulgaria hacia España en busca de un trabajo. Tuve que hacer cola en la oficina de extranjería, en los servicios de inmigración, en los registros municipales de la policía y en la oficina de empleo de mi distrito. Vitalmente fueron unos días muy duros. No hablar búlgaro dificultaba mucho cualquier trámite, y todo ello suponía meter el dedo en la llaga del

desempleo que tanto dolía. Por suerte para mí tuve la oportunidad de conocer gente durante este proceso que me permitió iniciar el campo allí.

Las clases de búlgaro fueron otra experiencia decisiva. Acudí durante tres semanas al servicio de idiomas de la Universidad que por suerte para mí estaba situado en mi barrio. A pesar de que éramos tres en clase, y que el precio del curso era tan elevado como cualquiera de los que alguna vez he hecho de alemán en Alemania, el método de aprendizaje era bastante anticuado y poco eficaz. La profesora acudía a clase profundamente desmotivada por un salario muy bajo y unos alumnos nada brillantes. Nos obligaba a repetir ejercicios del libro sin sentido y se mostraba incapaz no ya de explicar la gramática, sino de entender siquiera que pudiéramos tener interés en aprenderla.

El primer mes fue duro en gran parte por la barrera lingüística. Pasaba largas horas del día en casa o en la calle con mis tarjetas de vocabulario, incapaz de que lo que yo pronunciaba fuera comprensible para la gente del lugar. Vivía en lo que yo sigo juzgando el paraíso. Un bloque de casas bastante viejo de la época soviética a cinco kilómetros del centro. Sofía es una ciudad con una belleza que te atrapa de forma progresiva. Hay árboles y vegetación por todas partes, de tal forma que a veces uno tiene la impresión de que la naturaleza por fin ha decidido recuperar la superficie de la tierra y rescatarla del asfalto. Mi calle estaba asfaltada sólo hasta la mitad y enfrente de mi portal había un descampado en el que los perros vivían en estado de semisalvajismo. Los vecinos de mi bloque habían improvisado una mesa con un antiguo rollo de cable eléctrico y unos palés. Había una tienda que siempre estaba abierta en la que uno podía conseguir casi de todo, y la gente del barrio parecía habitar en aquella mesa de forma permanente. Con timidez al principio, comencé a sentarme allí con ellos. La comunicación era imposible, pero pronto me convertí en su español y se acostumbraron a mí en cierta forma. Así empecé a conocer a gente que tenía familia que había emigrado a España. Empecé a hacer campo mientras intentaba aprender alguna palabra. Fueron días duros pero bonitos.

También empecé a conocer a la gente de mi departamento y me explicaron cómo usar la biblioteca del Instituto y la Biblioteca Nacional. La verdad es que en esas primeras semanas yo no entendía nada. Me sentía realmente estúpido y abrumado por la cantidad de información. Pasaba los días atrapado entre horas interminables de estudio de

búlgaro, clases tediosas y sesiones de departamento en las que me sentía profundamente humillado por mi falta de formación. Por suerte para mí caí bien allí y poco a poco me fueron orientando en mi búsqueda bibliográfica. Gracias a esto pude descubrir una cantidad muy significativa de artículos muy relevantes para mi investigación. Resultó que mi departamento estaba especializado en migraciones y que algún profesor había hecho campo en Castilla y León. El valor de aquellas conversaciones y lecturas resulta incalculable ya que me permitía ejercer de forma discursiva la reflexión sobre mi praxis antropológica. Fue una producción social del conocimiento que me permitió confrontar con el horizonte intersubjetivo de la Academia Búlgara mi investigación. Y fue así como, contra todo pronóstico, descubrí que, a pesar de mis temores y mi ansiedad, no estaba tan equivocado.

En el segundo mes cambiamos de clase de búlgaro a un profesor más joven y más moderno que estaba en el centro. Para entonces yo empecé a balbucear algo que se parecía remotamente al habla de esa gente de forma que, poco a poco, logré hacerme entender. Caminaba diariamente de mi casa hasta el centro y aprovechaba los cinco kilómetros para entrar en panaderías y poner en práctica mis pocos conocimientos de búlgaro. Una de mis panaderías favoritas tenía una deliciosa empanada de queso y calabacín y una anciana panadera que se mostraba muy entusiasta con mis progresos. Cuando a la sexta semana ya me logré hacer entender un poco y tuvo conocimiento de mi extraña historia (para ellos mi proceso migratorio era contracorriente), se alegró mucho de saber por fin que yo era español y me recitó en búlgaro un poema de Lorca. Escuchar allí, en medio de Sofía, el Verde que te quiero verde, me produjo una profunda sensación de belleza sólo comparable a la que me producía ver las estrellas en las calles mal iluminadas.

Mi campo avanzó a ritmo exponencial. Comencé a visitar a las familias de los búlgaros emigrados en mi región, y eso me permitió comprender mejor mi objeto de estudio. Empecé a también a entender la profunda dimensión de la cuestión étnica para la sociedad de Bulgaria y aprendí mucho de su historia nacional. Recuerdo esos días como largas jornadas de preguntarme quién era yo, leer mucho, y conocer a un número increíblemente elevado de personas. De un modo que aun no comprendo, mi nivel de búlgaro me permitió tener una sociabilidad normal de forma que pude ampliar mucho mi trabajo de campo hacia el final de mi estancia.

Mi primera visita al Museo de Historia Nacional fue un hito decisivo en mi investigación. Mi profesora de búlgaro en España me escribió diciendo que estaba en Sofía. Al parecer había ido allí para acudir al dentista porque es mucho más barato que en España. Dijo que le gustaría que desayunáramos juntos y que visitáramos ese Museo. Y así lo hicimos. Fue un momento en el que alcanzamos un alto grado de intimidad. Se mostró muy sorprendida con el hecho de que me gustara Bulgaria. Al parecer, el hecho de que las calles y las casas estén en un estado un poco lamentable debería echarme atrás. Y la verdad es que yo estaba encantado. Visitamos ese museo a propuesta de ella porque para ella, como para el resto de los búlgaros, era importante que yo conociera su historia para poder comprender su presente. Y fue una visita muy interesante. El Museo Nacional de Historia de Bulgaria es un ejemplo muy claro de construcción de una identidad a partir del patrimonio cultural. Las lecturas de Handler, Howbsbaum y Herzfeld adquirieron un nuevo sentido, ya que sus líneas teóricas aparecían con total claridad en la construcción de ese museo.

Esto me permitió mejorar mucho mi forma de aproximación a la cuestión étnica y empezar a entender con más precisión su relevancia. Mi campo mejoró sustancialmente y de forma que aún no he logrado entender, las diferentes piezas empezaron a encajar. Empecé a entender cosas que había registrado varias veces con sensación de absurdo y estupidez, empecé a hacer mejor las preguntas, a entender mejor las respuestas. Esto me brindó un poco de aire fresco y de optimismo que contrarrestaba mis frecuentes crisis personales y vitales que me llevaban a sufrir y preguntarme por mí mismo y por mi terrible situación de desempleo.

Hubo, además, otro hecho importante que aceleró mi forma de investigar de forma considerable. En esos meses tuve que enviar el texto de una comunicación que me habían aceptado para un congreso de migraciones en Oxford y, casi a la vez, tuve que preparar una comunicación y una conferencia sobre la integración de la comunidad búlgara en Castilla y León. Esto fue un trabajo intelectual bastante duro pero muy interesante. Mis frecuentes y penosos mails a mi directora de tesis se complementaron con interminables conversaciones y discusiones en el departamento. Logré así confrontar intersubjetivamente los postulados teóricos subyacentes a mi investigación, apuntando así a los criterios de validación que emergen de la epistemología y metodología explicadas al comienzo de este anexo.

Mi regreso a España en agosto de 2013 fue emocionalmente complejo. Me resultó u duro aterrizar en la dureza de la meseta castellana después de haber habitado los bosques de Bulgaria tanto tiempo. Poco a poco fui recuperando el contacto con mi antigua asociación y todo cambió de forma muy inesperada. Ahora hablábamos de forma habitual en búlgaro y la cuestión étnica por fin se me hizo accesible. Antes de ir a Bulgaria había preguntado varias veces por los gitanos y los turcos, pero siempre me respondían con evasivas. Sin embargo, a mi regreso, me empezaron a hablar con más franqueza de esta cuestión. Así descubrí que el grupo emigrado reproducía los patrones de expulsión étnica de Bulgaria, imponiendo el criterio de identidad nacional en el extranjero. Descubrí, además, que esa producción social de la identidad étnica resultaba muy provechosa para la comunidad en términos de integración.

En septiembre de 2013 asistí al Congreso de la Asociación Nacional de Antropología Portuguesa y, unas semanas después, al Congreso del International Migrations Institut de Oxford. Fueron dos foros muy productivos en términos académicos ya que me permitió exponer mis ideas con franqueza en los debates y ser corregido por auténticas eminencias en el campo de las migraciones en nuestras discusiones de bar y cerveza. Esto permitió que el conocimiento de mi investigación continuara con su dimensión social y de praxis en sentido aristotélico, al tiempo que me permitía reorientarme dentro de mi trabajo de campo.

Por supuesto, el trabajo de campo continuó siendo desesperante muchas veces. Con frecuencia me sentía perdido. Pero, a diferencia de antes de ir a Bulgaria, ahora me sentía un poco más seguro. Era como si alguien me hubiera dado una antorcha en medio de mi laberinto. Sí, seguía perdido, pero al menos ya no me sentía ciego.

Así pude repetir algunas entrevistas, sabiendo por fin lo que estaba buscando, y mejoré mucho mi relación con el grupo. Empecé a bailar más en serio. Se constituyó un grupo de baile para principiantes y la élite de la asociación decidió que yo, aunque torpe, formaría parte del grupo principal. Me había convertido en capital simbólico para ellos. Les gustaba llevarme a sus eventos y exhibirme como el español que estuvo en Bulgaria y le gustó, el español, que hablaba búlgaro, el español que sabía cocinar recetas búlgaras... Incluso me dieron un papel en la función de Navidad. Esto hizo que el número de historias de migración y de vida se multiplicara.

Además, al mismo tiempo, fui conociendo a otras asociaciones. La primavera de 2014 transcurrió entre Valladolid, Palencia y Segovia. Eran las tres asociaciones más importantes de la región y esto me permitió acceder a más historias de vida, a más procesos migratorios y de integración. Fui poco a poco completando el mosaico de mi investigación, empecé a sentirme más seguro y a mejorar mucho mi conocimiento de mi tema de tesis. Continué, además, asistiendo a congresos y empecé a publicar. Todo esto contribuía a ir validando poco a poco mis avances.

Mi situación vital comenzó a ser angustiante el verano de 2014. Mi situación de desempleo era ya muy larga y había gastado casi todos mis ahorros en asistir a congresos. Además, en los últimos meses, a pesar de haber intensificado mi trabajo de campo, tenía la impresión de estar escuchando lo mismo una y otra vez. Mi directora de tesis, mucho más sabia que yo, me planteó la posibilidad de levantar el campo y empezar a escribir. Yo era reticente a dar este paso. La verdad, no era una cuestión de que pensara que podía avanzar mucho más en mi trabajo de campo sino más bien un temor vital. Estar en situación de desempleo es un ataque constante a la línea de flotación. Investigar en el campo me hacía tener al menos un rol que desempeñar y sentirme un poco menos basura. La perspectiva de encerrarme a escribir en casa me parecía demasiado deprimente.

En septiembre de 2014 levanté el campo de forma definitiva y sólo volví a ver a mis informantes de forma puntual para pulir algunos detalles. Sin embargo, no me alejé de forma real de los búlgaros. A estas alturas muchos de ellos se han convertido en amigos de verdad con los que a día de hoy sigo compartiendo rutinas vitales impagables. No dejé de verlos aunque sí que dejé de hacer campo con ellos.

Septiembre de 2014 fue, además, mi regreso a la vida laboral. Logré dos empleos de forma casi simultánea, uno en Valladolid y otro en Salamanca. Entre los dos sueldos no llegaba a una retribución de mil euros al mes. Mi situación financiera, unida al precio de la gasolina, me llevó a la penosa situación de tener que pedir dinero a mis padres para poder arrancar el coche muchas semanas. Me sentía entonces muy cerca de la clase de trabajadores pobres que había conocido en Bulgaria. Por suerte para mí, ambos trabajos eran intelectualmente muy estimulantes. Además, mis frecuentes visitas a Salamanca me permitieron tener una relación aún más estrecha con mi directora de tesis que se materializó en la publicación de los artículos que dan cuerpo a esta investigación.

Luego vino la desesperación propia del doctorando de no ver salida ni fin. El trabajo de campo empezó a estar cada vez más lejos, y la tarea de escribir se convirtió en algo penoso y tedioso. Mientras que el trabajo de campo y las conversaciones y discusiones en congreso entraban dentro del mundo de la vida, de la epistemología práctica, la escritura académica era una mutilación progresiva de la sensación de belleza ante el mundo. Por suerte para mí, mi directora de tesis me exigió madurez y no me dejó abandonar en las muchas veces que me lo planteé. Me enseñó incluso a escribir de forma ordenada mis ideas, dando coherencia y publicidad a la investigación que había desarrollado durante tanto tiempo.

Durante todo este tiempo, la cuestión epistemológica ocupó una parte fundamental de nuestras conversaciones y nuestra correspondencia. Puedo decir, por tanto, que tal vez no he sido un investigador sistemático, ni he generado datos validables al estilo de la sociología o de la psicología. Sin embargo, desde el comienzo de la investigación, he trabajado de forma activa por explicitarme a mí mismo y al mundo mis categorías de análisis para intentar mejorar mi trabajo de campo. Además, he intentado en la medida de lo posible hacer que mi investigación fuera accesible a profesionales del campo de la antropología, en pos de esa validación intersubjetiva de nuestra ciencia. Es por ello que considero que esta investigación goza de un cierto grado de valor intelectual que la hace poder ser presentada como tesis.

Sin embargo, aún a día de hoy, considero que hay que ser prudentes con los propios trabajos y su veracidad. Muchas veces pienso que, en realidad, esta investigación no ha sido más que una página de mi vida toda, un modo más de intentar responder a esa pregunta definitiva de Delfos, a ese “Conócete a ti mismo”. Y, una vez más, no puedo sino recordar tiernamente a Hume y la imposibilidad de alcanzar certeza sobre la existencia del propio sujeto. Así, huyendo de la pretensión de certeza, considero que he explicitado sobradamente la metodología de esta investigación con sus implicaciones epistemológicas.

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